

The CRISIS

Xmas

1919



God Give Us Men!

We are passing through a period that is sorely trying the souls of men.

Arrayed against the cause of justice to the Negro are all the forces of race hatred and prejudice. Neither terrorism, falsehood nor drastic methods of repression can crush the hopes and aspirations of twelve millions nor check the rising tide of Negro manhood, if in the hearts of the great body of colored people is the determination to end for all time the era of lynching, of disfranchisement, of the closed door of opportunity. This is true even though timid and craven souls may declare there is no reason for unrest.

But that determination is of little avail if we do not have organization—strong, resourceful and unafraid.

Our appeal to *you* is to join *today* the organization that is battling in every legitimate and legal manner to wipe out race-discrimination.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Date.....1919

The CRISIS is sent without further charge to members paying two dollars and fifty cents or more.

Joel E. Spingarn, Acting Treasurer,
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SIXTY-FOUR PAGES AND COVER.

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CON-
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DECEMBER, 1919

Whole No. 110

PICTURES

	Page
COVER. Madonna. Photographed by Battey.	
MEMPHIS CO-OPERATIVE STORES	49
THE CRUCIFIXION AT OMAHA	61
MEN OF THE MONTH	64
WAR WORKERS	67
THE THREE WISE MEN OF OUR DAY	68-69
ELECTED COLORED OFFICIALS	73

ARTICLES

YE OLDE CHRISTMAS CAROLS. Decoration by Hilda Wilkinson.....	47
RODDY'S CITIZENS CO-OPERATIVE STORES.....	48
BETHLEHEM. A Poem. By C. Emily Frazier.....	50
MARY ELIZABETH. A Story. By Jessie Fauset. Illustrated by Laura Wheeler	51
THE REAL CAUSES OF TWO RACE RIOTS. With Maps and Photograph	56
THE AMERICAN LEGION	66

DEPARTMENTS

OPINION	41
MEN OF THE MONTH.....	63
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE	70
THE LOOKING GLASS	74
THE HORIZON	80

COMING ISSUES OF THE CRISIS

Hereafter each issue of THE CRISIS will contain fiction and poetry, two important articles, from
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THE CRISIS

Vol. 19 No. 2

DECEMBER, 1919

Whole No. 110

The logo for 'Opinion of WEB Du Bois' features the word 'Opinion' in a large, stylized, cursive font. Below it, 'of WEB Du Bois' is written in a smaller, simpler font. To the left of the text is a circular emblem containing a sun rising over a landscape with a building and a tree.

The Gospel According to Mary Brown



HE was very small and pretty and black and lived in the cabin beyond the Big Road and down the lane by the creek, there where field on field of green cotton was flowering in the spring. And one night as she sat there all alone and wistful, watching the stars, a woman passed by and hailed her. She shrank back in the shadows, but the woman smiled and said full softly:

"Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favor with God."

And then Mary knew, and she brought out the Old Book and read the lines aloud, following them with her little dark finger:

"My soul doth—magnify the Lord. . . ."

"For He hath regarded the low—estate of his handmaiden, for behold from—henceforth all—generations shall call me blessed . . ."

Even as she read the door flew wide, and Pain stood beside her. He thrust and threw her poor little body and wracked and burst her thews in sunder. She moaned, but did not scream,—and thus at last, in years of hours, she brought forth her first-born son; and she called his name Joshua.

Day after day she sat and watched his perfect little form. Was he not a beautiful baby? His skin was black velvet; his eyes were star-sown midnights, set in milk; his tiny teeth, white pearls; and his hair all tender tendrils of silk.

Sometimes—some very little times—a pain caught her as she cuddled him close. Would it not be better for him if he were whiter? Brown, or yellow, or dusky cream? Then she would say fiercely: No! No! Is not Love, who is God, his Father? And would his Father send a black baby to this world just to make him suffer?

And so each night after work she took him out beneath the stars, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and she heard the angels singing: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth Peace, good-will toward men."

Thus did Mary, the mother, begin to dream dreams. And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him.

Now his mother went to town every Christmas to settle for her crops, but it was not until he was twelve years old that he went with her, and saw town for the first. How marvelous and wonderful to him was the revelation.

Mary finished her work and started home, but Joshua tarried behind. When Mary found him not, she turned back seeking him. After three days she found him in a church, sitting in the midst of the deacons, both hearing them and asking them questions:

Why were colored folk poor?

Why were they afraid?

Whose father was God?

Did the deacons know God? Well, he did. God was his own Father.

And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.

But his mother said unto him:

"Son, why did you do me this-a-way?"

And he answered: "Wist ye not, that I must be about my Father's business."

And Mary caught her breast in pain, for how may a father be mentioned when one's father is only God? But she kept all his sayings in her heart.

So Joshua went back to the plantation and worked. He ploughed and picked cotton and hoed and drove mules and, finally, learned to be a carpenter; and always he increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man.

But not, alas! with all white men. Most of them mistrusted him. They could not place him. He was neither sullen nor impudent. But he looked at them with a certain, clear understanding and calm sense of authority; he carried himself like a man, and this they resented.

"Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" they asked. "Didn't we keep him on the plantation and out of school? And yet, he's strutting and talking and preaching; he's putting ideas into niggers' heads." And they slipped down to the old wooden church by the creek and listened to him preach.

The people were scattered on the green under the trees, eating their lunch out of baskets. And Joshua opened his mouth and taught them, saying:

"Blessed are the poor; blessed are they that mourn; blessed are the meek; blessed are the merciful; blessed are they which are persecuted. All men are brothers and God is the Father of all."

Then all the multitude lifted up their voices and sang: "Good news, the Chariot's a comin'."

"What kind of talk is this?" said the White Folk, "Behold, he stirreth up the people."

Whereupon they took council together. They stopped his preaching and doubled his work. They cursed and drove his hearers; they warned and beat them.

Mary watched all this in mounting terror. She saw the hurt in Joshua's eyes and the bitterness in his heart. She knew that he suffered, not simply in himself, but with every other sufferer. That he was wounded by every sin and bruised by every injustice. He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth. She saw him walk daily, despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The world hid its face from him and esteemed him not.

Bitter, ever more bitter, grew the White Folk at his silent protest—his humble submission to wrong. They seized him and questioned him.

"What do you mean by this talk about all being brothers—do you mean social equality?"

"What do you mean by 'the meek shall inherit the earth'—do you mean that niggers will own our cotton land?"

"What do you mean by saying God is you-all's father—is God a nigger?"

And Joshua flamed in mighty anger and answered and said: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell!"

In wild fury the mob seized him and haled him before a judge.

The Judge—he was from the North—was sorely puzzled. "What shall I do with him?" he asked helplessly.

"Kill the nigger," yelled the mob.

"Why, what evil hath he done?"

But they cried out the more, saying: "Let him be crucified."

Thereupon the Judge washed his hands of the whole matter, saying: "I am innocent of his blood."

And so swiftly he was sentenced for treason and inciting murder and insurrection; quickly they hurried him to the jail-yard, where they stripped him, and spit upon him, and smote him on the head, and mocked, and lynched him. And sitting down, they watched him die.

And Joshua said: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Now far down in the cabin beyond the Big Road and down the lane by the creek, there where field on field of bronze-stalked cotton lay bursting in white clouds, awaiting the pickers, a mother strove with heaven, on her knees. And she cried!

"God, you ain't fair!—You ain't fair, God! You didn't ought to do it—if you didn't want him black, you didn't have to make him black; if you didn't want him unhappy, why did you let him think? And then you let them mock him, and hurt him, and lynch him! Why, why did you do it, God?"

And then afar she heard the faint pit-a-pat of running feet; she paused on her knees. Pit-a-pat they came across the field, down the Big Road, along the lane; pit-a-pat-pit-a-pat; and then she heard the hard breathing—ha-ha! Ha-ha!—Pit-a-pat—pit-a-pat, until suddenly a flying sweat-swathed figure rushed on her, crying: "Mary—Mary—he is not dead: He is risen!"

He came in the twilight, walking slowly, with head thrust slightly forward, as was his wont, and eyes upon the ground. But the heart of Mary leapt within her. For his hair shone, the lines were gone from his face, and the sorrow slept in his eyes. His clothes were white and whole and clean, and his voice was the voice of God.

And Mary said: "Where was you, Son?"

And he answered and said: "I was crucified, dead, and buried. I descended into Hell. On the third day I rose from the dead. I ascended into Heaven, and sit on the right hand of my Father, from whence I shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead."

And softly Mary laid herself down at His feet, and died.

VOTES

MAKE no mistake: the greatest Negro problem is Votes for Negroes. Everything else is secondary. Moreover, we have votes. There are two million Negroes in the North and another million in Border States who have the franchise. With woman suffrage, present and in the near future, this means a million voters. It is this mighty million in whose hands the destiny of the Negroes of the Nation and the world rests.

They are the ones who prevent further disfranchisement; they are the ones who curb the power of the white South in Congress; they are the ones who have stopped the march of "Jim-Crow" legislation. They are the ones who yet will bring real Democracy to this land.

And they are beginning to know their power. The old type of Negro politician was satisfied with a bread and butter job for himself or his friends. The new type has raised his price: he wants freedom. He wants what other forward-looking men want, who are seeking to make America a land of real opportunity.

Today Negroes are sitting in the Legislatures of eight states; they are members of the Legislative Councils of seven of our largest cities; they are occupying dozens of important positions on Commissions and Administrative bodies. Only yesterday the largest city in the land seated two Negroes on her Board of Aldermen; the second largest already had one; and the third largest put one on her Select Council.

Not only are we getting into positions of power, but we are learning how to get our friends there and how to punish our enemies. In Philadelphia the notorious contractor-boss, Vane, tried to soft-soap his colored followers with talk and turned down their candidate for councils, while

the managers of the Moore Campaign nominated a Negro. The result was that in one Negro ward the Vares lost 3,000 votes and Moore won nomination and election.

This is tremendously encouraging, but it is only a beginning. Every Northern State with a considerable Negro population and every Border State must have black Legislators. Negro Congressmen must re-appear—first, from New York and Illinois; then from the Border; then from the South. Remember and never forget: disfranchisement in the South is contrary to law and public policy and cannot endure. With a vote in our hands, we are freemen.

AGAIN, OPHELIA

IN our Children's Number we offered to our readers a little colored orphan, Ophelia. The response has been astonishing, beyond the dreams of THE CRISIS. Of course, Ophelia found a home. Early in October the Superintendent of the Child Placing Agency wrote:

"You will be glad to know that little Ophelia has found an excellent home and I hope that she is going to be permanently provided for. Although her foster mother is young, she has had experience with children and is a very good housekeeper. She and her husband have a comfortable little house outside of New York and are thrifty people. Her husband has a good position and has an excellent work record. They have no children and it has been a great disappointment to them both."

But the astonishing thing is that this baby was offered four hundred and fifty-nine homes, in three hundred and thirty-two cities, in thirty-four states, the District of Columbia, and Canada! The cry of sympathy and yearning welled up from the Negro heart of the nation. Even from Oklahoma comes this word:

"I am a little girl eleven years old and my name is Novella and I seen in your magazine a little Baby name, Ophelia. She has no parents to take care of her. Will you please rite and tell me what she will cost me to get her. I will pay her expenses and

take her if you will rite to me at wonce for I needs her."

A man writes from Texas:

"If someone has beat me to Little Ophelia, please look out for me another and let me know how to get her and on what terms. My wife wrote you concerning a baby girl and I hope we won't be disappointed. We colored people here don't and can't get our own colored orphans. The whites take them and put them in some place they call a home. Just raising them up for their own use. I am married and have a nice home and a couple of lots, but home don't seem to be complete without children somehow, and myself and wife would be so proud if we could adopt a little girl as our own."

From Kansas comes this buoyant welcome:

"How my heart did spring for joy when I read the want ad for little Ophelia. We should be very glad to get her and to be a real kind father and mother to her and also educate her to the highest. The only thing lacking around this home of ours is a darling, sweet baby, and I think Ophelia would be satisfied with her new home, for we would do everything to make her a happy, healthy baby. We both are Christians, belonging to the Catholic Church. We have a six-room house and a seven-passenger car awaiting her arrival."

A letter from Virginia will be disappointing to our southern white friends:

"Will you please inform me of her parentage and complexion, what you mean by 'light?' We wish to adopt two children, boy and girl, and brown children are preferable,—had rather they be too dark than too white, from chocolate to a light-brown, so that you can tell they are colored."

Does not all this point to a great duty and a great opportunity? Let us organize to place our orphans in our best homes.

THE NEGRO SOLDIER

HE carefully arranged attack on the Negro soldier, delayed and somewhat disarranged by THE CRISIS' revelation in May and June, was at last launched in *Harvey's Weekly*.

The article consisted of a series of falsehoods and half-truths.

"The Ninety-Second Division—was the only Negro division sent to France."

This is not true. The Ninety-Third Division was also sent to France. Its organization as a division was never completed, but its four Negro regiments were the first American Negro combat troops to arrive and saw more fighting than any American units. The reason for ignoring them was because they were brigaded with the French, trained and treated like men, covered themselves with glory and returned with nearly four hundred citations for bravery.

"Negro officers in the Artillery and Engineer regiments were relieved by white officers because of inefficiency."

This is untrue. No training for Artillery or Engineering was given Negro officers in the Des Moines training camp. When it was decided to equip a complete Negro division, naturally, there were no Negro officers trained. After repeated refusal a few received training later under great difficulties and some of these served with their troops.

"The average period allotted for training white troops in France was four weeks. The Ninety-Second was kept in the training area seven weeks."

This is true, but the reason is tactfully omitted; the white troops were assembled and trained as full divisions in the United States before embarking; the Negroes were never assembled until they reached France and certain units, like the Artillery, were held back by War Office intrigue among persons who were determined not to let the division function. In the French training schools Negro officers made as good and better record than the whites, while Negro artillerymen held the record with seventy-fives!

The meat of this attack lies in the paragraph which asserts that in the Argonne the 368th "refused to obey orders" and "did not go forward" to attack.

To this scurrilous attack the Secretary of War has himself replied, quoting the Inspector-General who examined forty-four witnesses. The conclusions are:

1. That the 368th regiment was not assigned as an attacking force in the Argonne battle.

2. That the ground was extremely difficult and the regiment only partially equipped for battle.

3. There was no artillery support and the advance met heavy machine-gun and rifle fire.

"The circumstances disclosed by a detailed study of the situation do not justify many of the highly colored accounts which have been given of the behavior of the troops in this section, and they afford no basis at all for any of the general assumptions, with regard to the action of colored troops in this battle or elsewhere in France. On the contrary, it is to be noted that many colored officers, and particularly three in the very battalion here under discussion, were decorated with Distinguished Service Crosses for extraordinary heroism under fire."

A detailed description of this battle can be found in *THE CRISIS*, June, 1919.

I have heard the story of this battle from the mouths of Negro officers and soldiers fresh from the hell of war and I am convinced that of all the regiments in France, black and white, none made a more desperate fight or stood a finer test of Negro manhood and leadership than the Three Hundred and Sixty-Eighth.

RADICALS

SOUTHERNERS in Congress with the aid of the Attorney General are seeking some way to stop outspoken criticism by Negroes of the southern oligarchy. They are cloaking their indefensible tyranny by assertions that a new and wild radicalism among Negroes is creating a danger of race conflict. Some Negro journals are already hastening to cover, by asserting their loyalty and disowning the new radicals. This is dangerous business. **THE**

CRISIS holds no brief for the *Messenger*, the *Negro World*, and other periodicals, but they have a right to speak.

THE CRISIS does not believe in violence as a method of social reform—it does not believe in Revolution, but it does believe in free speech and freedom to think, and it is the duty of every Negro to see that the right of black men to think and write and criticize shall not be abridged and taken away under the guise of curbing revolution.

Vardaman's Weekly, *Jim Jam Jems*, *The Anderson*, S. C., *Tribune*, the *Jackson*, Miss., *Clarion*, the *Texas Harpoon*, and a score of other dirty Southern sheets have been pouring their filth and lies against Negroes into the mails for ten, twenty, and thirty years, and not a whisper of protest has come from the United States Government, from the States, from the white Church, or from any noticeable number of decent white men. But when; now, there arises, as it is perfectly natural there should arise, a shrill and bitter attack on race prejudice by young Negroes—a new demand for new freedom, and even a tendency to join with extremists of all colors in a struggle for liberty, whom have we to thank but the lawless bourbon South? And if these voices are hushed by tyranny, will not the very stones cry out for a shamelessly oppressed people?

THE NEW CRISIS

AT last, the printers' strike is over! And **THE CRISIS** appears in its new size, with sixty-four pages and cover. There are eight pages of illustrations, eighteen pages of news and comment, a story, and four articles. The price is One Dollar and a Half a Year, and Fifteen Cents a Copy.

We hope our friends will like the issue, and we invite criticism and suggestions.



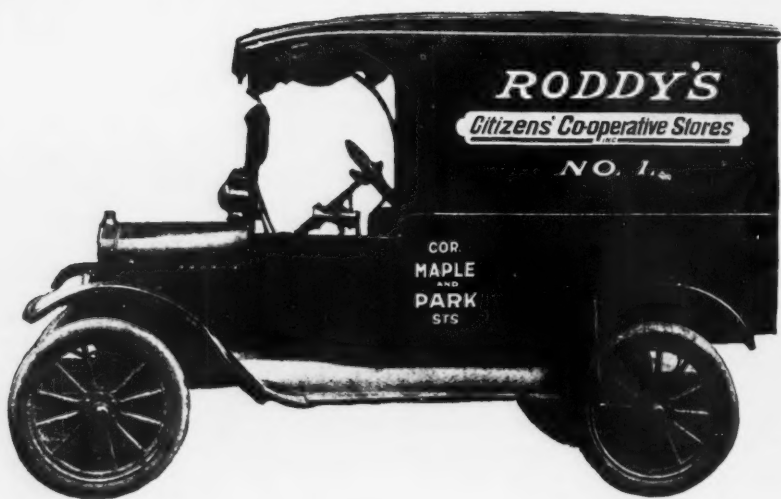
HARK! the herald angels sing
Glory to the new-born King!
Peace on earth and mercy mild,
God and sinners reconciled.

ONCE in Royal David's city
Stood a lowly cattle shed,
Where a mother laid her baby
In a manger for His bed.
Mary was that mother mild,
Jesus Christ that little Child.

HE came down to earth from Heaven,
Who is God and Lord of all.
And His shelter was a stable,
And His cradle was a stall.
With the poor and mean and lowly,
Lived on earth our Saviour Holy.

O LITTLE town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by;
Yet in thy dark street shineth
The everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee to-night.

GOD rest ye, little children; let nothing
you affright,
For Jesus Christ, your Saviour, was born
this happy night;
Along the hills of Galilee the white flocks
sleeping lay,
When Christ, the Child of Nazareth,
was born on Christmas Day.



IN August, 1918, the Editor of *THE CRISIS* held a meeting in New York, of those persons interested in the idea of co-operation and its spread and adoption among colored people. Among those present was B. M. Roddy of Memphis, Tenn., who returned home and entered upon an active campaign for the introduction of co-operation throughout the South—beginning, naturally enough, with Memphis. It is to Mr. Roddy that we are indebted for the main facts of this article.

Several people in Memphis becoming, through Mr. Roddy, interested in co-operation, got together small groups of people who studied the subject. By February, 1919, a charter of incorporation for the State of Tennessee was secured and a co-operative organization founded. It was made plain to the members that the purpose of such an organization was to secure and protect the interest of the members. They themselves were to control the distribution of necessities and all profits were to be divided among them. The basis of division of profits rested on the amount of shares owned by each member, however, and not on the amount of goods purchased, which is the better plan.

In the case of this particular co-operative organization, incorporated, by the way, under the name of The Citizens' Co-operative

Stores, the capital stock was originally \$5,000, to which the members were invited to subscribe at \$12.50 per share. This amount might be paid cash down or in weekly installments of no less than fifty cents. No member might purchase more than ten shares and each member was to receive dividends on his holdings whenever the net assets of the corporation so permitted.

Within ninety days after receiving the charter the organization had sold the entire \$5,000 worth of stock and was obliged to amend the charter and capitalize anew at \$15,000. By August 30, 1919, \$10,000 worth of this stock had been sold and now five stores with meat markets are operating.

In the vicinity of each store is a Negro co-operative guild composed of the stockholders of the Company,—those who have already paid for their shares,—and of the prospective stockholders—those who are buying shares on the installment plan. The members of these guilds meet at least once a month, keep abreast of co-operative literature, open discussions and offer suggestions.

We regret that the stores thus auspiciously established have not adopted the full co-operative principle, namely, one vote to each shareholder, regardless of the number of shares he holds; and distribution of profits according to purchases made and not ac-







TWO OF THE MEMPHIS CO-OPERATIVE STORES.

ording to shares bought. This is a wise and fundamental principle and we hope to see it followed in the future.

Despite this, one sees that what is actually happening is the phenomenon of a group of people buying and selling to themselves,—buying necessities at cost and selling them back to themselves at retail prices. But just because the group that buys is also the group that sells, it is possible for the difference between the wholesale and the retail price to be returned to the members of the group as profits. In other words, the group is its own *middle-man* and reaps the benefit of such a procedure.

The good results of co-operation among colored people do not lie alone in the return of savings. They show, also, new opportunities for the earning of a livelihood, and in the chance offered our colored youth to become acquainted with business methods. For naturally in enterprises of this sort colored property is used whenever possible, colored management and colored clerks, typists, book-keepers, and the like, are employed. Thus, in a larger and different sense, we have another form of co-operation. Colored people are furnishing their own with work and money for services received and the recipients are handing the money back for re-distribution to the original colored sources. The possibilities of such an organization are almost boundless. Thus, as the co-operative society in Memphis grows, it proposes to own its own buildings. From this the ownership of co-operative warehouses would be a natural and easy step, and the circle widens.

Business is not all there is to life. Co-operation aims at something else besides the establishment of food and clothing stores.

Its main object is organization among a people who are in sad lack of that particular thing. It hopes to introduce insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age; to establish a system whereby loans can be made to deserving members without the onus of high interest rates. It aspires to help out in time of strikes and lock-outs, to provide club-houses, hospitals, recreation-centres.

Finally, co-operation establishes the spirit of brotherhood. We have Mr. Roddy's word for it in Memphis. These five stores are serving 75,000 people who are rallying to a concern which shows that the interest of one is the interest of all, that no man in this organization can lose without the reflection of his loss in the returns of all those connected with him. An attitude enforced may easily become a habit. Interest for self-protection in other people finally develops into an interest in those people for their own sake. This is the lesson of co-operation.

Co-operation is an organized non-political effort of the people to control the production and distribution of the things needed to satisfy their wants. Its first requisite is loyalty and friendship toward one's fellowmen. Usually shares cost \$10. No society should start with less than 20 members and \$200 subscribed. With this amount, at first, they buy at wholesale a few of the most used commodities—sugar, flour, coffee, tea, eggs, etc. These they sell at the current *retail* price—not at cost—to their members. They save the amount which represents the difference between the cost and the selling price (the profit that had previously gone to the private merchant) and return it to the members in *proportion to their purchases*.

Persons interested may write to the editor.

BETHLEHEM



C. EMILY FRAZIER



WITH little feet so feeble,
 With tender little eyes,
 With baby lips that tremble
 To utter baby cries,
 Unmindful of the angels
 That crowd the starry dome,
 He comes to bid you welcome,
 Thrice welcome to His home.

HIS home is dark and lowly,
 But love can make it fair;
 His home is such a poor one,
 But God Himself is there:
 And who would choose a palace,
 However great and bright,
 When God is in a stable
 On Merry Christmas night?

MARY ELIZABETH

A STORY



JESSIE FAUSET



MARY ELIZABETH was late that morning. As a direct result, Roger left for work without telling me good-bye, and I spent most of the day fighting the headache which always comes if I cry.

For I cannot get a breakfast. I can manage a dinner,—one just puts the roast in the oven and takes it out again. And I really excel in getting lunch. There is a good delicatessen near us, and with dainty service and flowers, I get along very nicely. But breakfast! In the first place, it's a meal I neither like nor need. And I never, if I live a thousand years, shall learn to like coffee. I suppose that is why I cannot make it.

"Roger," I faltered, when the awful truth burst upon me and I began to realize that Mary Elizabeth wasn't coming, "Roger, couldn't you get breakfast downtown this morning? You know last time you weren't so satisfied with my coffee."

Roger was hostile. I think he had just cut himself, shaving. Anyway, he was horrid.

"No, I can't get my breakfast downtown!" He actually snapped at me. "Really, Sally, I don't believe there's another woman in the world who would send her husband out on a morning like this on an empty stomach. I don't see how you can be so unfeeling."

Well, it wasn't "a morning like this," for it was just the beginning of November. And I had only proposed his doing what I knew he would have to do eventually.

I didn't say anything more, but started on that breakfast. I don't know why I thought I had to have hot cakes! The breakfast really was awful! The cakes were tough and gummy and got cold one second, exactly, after I took them off the stove. And the coffee boiled, or stewed, or scorched, or did whatever the particular thing is that coffee shouldn't do. Roger sawed at one cake, took one mouthful of the dreadful brew, and pushed away his cup.

"It seems to me you might learn to make a decent cup of coffee," he said icily. Then

he picked up his hat and flung out of the house.

I think it is stupid of me, too, not to learn how to make coffee. But, really, I'm no worse than Roger is about lots of things. Take "Five Hundred." Roger knows I love cards, and with the Cheltons right around the corner from us and as fond of it as I am, we could spend many a pleasant evening. But Roger will not learn. Only the night before, after I had gone through a whole hand with him, with hearts as trumps, I dealt the cards around again to imaginary opponents and we started playing. Clubs were trumps, and spades led. Roger, having no spades, played triumphantly a Jack of Hearts and proceeded to take the trick.

"But, Roger," I protested, "you threw off."

"Well," he said, deeply injured, "didn't you say hearts were trumps when you were playing before?"

And when I tried to explain, he threw down the cards and wanted to know what difference it made; he'd rather play casino, anyway! I didn't go out and slam the door.

But I couldn't help from crying this particular morning. I not only value Roger's good opinion, but I hate to be considered stupid.

Mary Elizabeth came in about eleven o'clock. She is a small, weazened woman, very dark, somewhat wrinkled, and a model of self-possession. I wish I could make you see her, or that I could reproduce her accent, not that it is especially colored,—Roger's and mine are much more so—but her pronunciation, her way of drawing out her vowels, is so distinctively Mary Elizabethan!

I was ashamed of my red eyes and tried to cover up my embarrassment with sternness.

"Mary Elizabeth," said I, "you are late!" Just as though she didn't know it.

"Yas'm, Mis' Pierson," she said, composedly, taking off her coat. She didn't remove her hat,—she never does until she has been in the house some two or three hours. I can't imagine why. It is a small, black, dusty affair, trimmed with black ribbon,

some dingy white roses and a sheaf of wheat. I give Mary Elizabeth a dress and hat now and then, but, although I recognize the dress from time to time, I never see any change in the hat. I don't know what she does with my ex-millinery.

"Yas'm," she said again, and looked comprehensively at the untouched breakfast dishes and the awful viands, which were still where Roger had left them.

"Looks as though you'd had to git breakfast yoreself," she observed brightly. And went out in the kitchen and ate all those cakes and drank that unspeakable coffee! Really she did, and she didn't warm them up either.

I watched her miserably, unable to decide whether Roger was too finicky or Mary Elizabeth a natural-born diplomat.

"Mr. Gales led me an awful chase last night," she explained. "When I got home yistiddy evenin', my cousin whut keeps house fer me (!) tole me Mr. Gales went out in the mornin' en hadn't come back."

"Mr. Gales," let me explain, is Mary Elizabeth's second husband, an octogenarian, and the most original person, I am convinced, in existence.

"Yas'm," she went on, eating a final cold hot-cake, "en I went to look fer 'im, en had the whole perlice station out all night huntin' 'im. Look like they wusn't never goin' to find 'im. But I ses, 'Jes' let me look fer enough en long enough en I'll find 'im,' I ses, en I did. Way out Georgy Avenue, with the hat on ole Mis' give 'im. Seht it to 'im all the way fum Chicaga. He's had it fifteen years,—high

hat on. I knowed he wusn't goin' too fer with that hat on.

"I went up to 'im, settin' by a fence all muddy, holdin' his hat on with both hands. En I ses, 'Look here, man, you come erlong home with me, en let me put you to bed.' En he come jest as meek! No-o-me, I knowed he wusn't goin' fer with ole Mis'



hat on."

"Who was old 'Mis,' Mary Elizabeth?" I asked her.

"Lady I used to work fer in Noo York," she informed me. "Me en Rosy, the cook, lived with her fer years. Ole Mis' was turrible fond of me, though her en Rosy

used to quarrel all the time. Jes' seemed like they couldn't git erlong. 'Member once Rosy run after her one Sunday with a knife, en I kep 'em apart. Reckon Rosy musta bin right put out with ole Mis' that day. By en by her en Rosy move to Chicaga, en when I married Mr. Gales, she sent 'im that hat. That old white woman shore did like me. It's so late, reckon I'd better put off sweepin' tel termorrer, ma'am."

I acquiesced, following her about from room to room. This was partly to get away from my own doleful thoughts—Roger really had hurt my feelings—but just as much to hear her talk. At first I used not to believe all she said, but after I investigated once and found her truthful in one amazing statement, I capitulated.

She had been telling me some remarkable tale of her first husband and I was listening with the stupefied attention, to which she always reduces me. Remember she was speaking of her first husband.

"En I ses to 'im, I ses, 'Mr. Gale,——'"

"Wait a moment, Mary Elizabeth," I interrupted, meanly delighted to have caught her for once. "You mean your first husband, don't you?"

"Yas'm," she replied. "En I ses to 'im, 'Mr. Gale! I ses——'"

"But, Mary Elizabeth," I persisted, "that's your second husband, isn't it,—Mr. Gale?"

She gave me her long-drawn "No-o-me! My first husband was Mr. Gale and my second is Mr. Gales. He spells his name with a Z, I reckon. I ain't never see it writ. Ez I was sayin', I ses to Mr. Gale——"

And it was true! Since then I have never doubted Mary Elizabeth.

She was loquacious that afternoon. She told me about her sister, "where's got a home in the country and where's got eight children." I used to read Lucy Pratt's stories about little Ephraim or Ezekiel, I forget his name, who always said "where's" instead of "who's," but I never believed it really till I heard Mary Elizabeth use it. For some reason or other she never mentions her sister without mentioning the home, too. "My sister where's got a home in the country" is her unvarying phrase.

"Mary Elizabeth," I asked her once, "does your sister live in the country, or does she simply own a house there?"

"Yas'm," she told me.

She is fond of her sister. "If Mr. Gales wus to die," she told me complacently, "I'd go to live with her."

"If he should die," I asked her idly, "would you marry again?"

"Oh, no-o-me!" She was emphatic. "Though I don't know why I shouldn't, I'd come by it hones'. My father wus married four times."

That shocked me out of my headache. "Four times, Mary Elizabeth, and you had all those stepmothers!" My mind refused to take it in.

"Oh, no-o-me! I always lived with mamma. She was his first wife."

I hadn't thought of people in the state in which I had instinctively placed Mary Elizabeth's father and mother as indulging in divorce, but as Roger says slangily, "I wouldn't know."

Mary Elizabeth took off the dingy hat. "You see, papa and mamma——" the ineffable pathos of hearing this woman of sixty-four, with a husband of eighty, use the old childish terms!

"Papa and mamma wus slaves, you know, Mis' Pierson, and so of course they wusn't exackly married. White folks wouldn't let 'em. But they wus aw'fly in love with each other. Heard mamma tell erbout it lots of times, and how papa wus the han' somest man! Reckon she wus long erbout sixteen or seventeen then. So they jumped over a broomstick, en they wus jes as happy! But not long after I come erlong, they sold papa down South, and mamma never see him no mo' fer years and years. Thought he wus dead. So she married again."

"And he came back to her, Mary Elizabeth?" I was overwhelmed with the woe-fulness of it.

"Yas'm. After twenty-six years. Me and my sister whr 's got a home in the country—she's re ly my half-sister, see Mis' Pierson,—her en mamma en my step-father en me wus all down in Bumpus, Virginia, workin' fer some white folks, and we used to live in a little cabin, had a front stoop to it. En one day an ole cullud man come by, had a lot o' whiskers. I'd saw him lots of times there in Bumpus, lookin' and peerin' into every cullud woman's face. En jes' then my sister she call out, 'Come here, you Ma'y Elizabeth,' en that old man stopped, en he looked at me en he looked at me, en he ses to me, 'Chile is yo' name Ma'y Elizabeth?'"

"You know, Mis' Pierson, I thought he wus jes' bein' fresh, en I ain't paid no 'tention to 'im. I ain't sed nuthin' ontel he spoke to me three or four times, en then I ses to 'im, 'Go 'way fum here, man, you ain't got no call to be fresh with me. I'm a decent woman. You'd oughta be ashamed of yoreself, an ole man like you.'"

Mary Elizabeth stopped and looked hard at the back of her poor wrinkled hands.

"En he says to me, 'Daughter,' he ses, jes' like that, 'daughter,' he ses, 'hones' I ain't bein' fresh. Is yo' name shore enough Ma'y Elizabeth?"

"En I tole him, 'Yas'r.'

"'Chile,' he ses, 'whar is yo' daddy?'"

"'Ain't got no daddy,' I tole him peart-like. 'They done tuk 'im away fum me twenty-six years ago, I wusn't but a mite of a baby. Sol' 'im down the river. My mother often talks about it.' And, oh, Mis' Pierson, you shoul'da see the glory come into his face!"

"'Yore mother!' he ses, kinda out of breath, 'yore mother! Ma'y Elizabeth, whar is your mother?'"

"'Back thar on the stoop,' I tole 'im. 'Why, did you know my daddy?'"

"'But he didn't pay no 'tention to me, jes' turned and walked up the stoop whar mamma wus settin'! She was feelin' sorta porely that day. En you oughta see me steppin' erlong after 'im."

"He walked right up to her and giv' her one look. 'Oh, Maggie,' he shout out, 'oh, Maggie! Ain't you know me? Maggie, ain't you know me?'"

"'Mamma look at 'im and riz up outa her cheer. 'Who're you?' she ses kinda trimbly, callin' me Maggie thata way? Who're you?'"

"He went up real close to her, then, 'Maggie,' he ses, jes' like that, kinda sad 'n tender, 'Maggie!' And hel' out his arms.

"She walked right into them. 'Oh,' she ses, 'it's Cassius! It's Cassius! It's my husban' come back to me! It's Cassius!' They wus like two mad people.

"My sister Minnie and me, we jes' stood and gawped at 'em. There they wus, holding on to each other like two pitiful childrun,



en he tuk her hands and kissed 'em.

"'Maggie,' he ses, 'you'll come away with me, won't you? You gona take me back, Maggie? We'll go away, you en Ma'y Elizabeth en me. Won't we, Maggie?'"

"'Reckon my mother clean fergot my step-father. 'Yes, Cassius,' she ses, 'we'll go away.' And then she sees Minnie, en it all comes back to her. 'Oh, Cassius,' she ses, 'I cain't go with you, I'm married again, en this time fer real. This here gal's mine and

three boys, too, and another chile comin' in November!"

"But she went with him, Mary Elizabeth," I pleaded. "Surely she went with him after all those years. He really was her husband."

I don't know whether Mary Elizabeth meant to be sarcastic or not. "Oh, no-o-me, mamma couldn't do that. She was a good woman. Her ole master, whut done sol' my father down river, brung her up too religious fer that, en anyways, papa was married again, too. Had his fourth wife there in Bumpus with 'im."

The unspeakable tragedy of it!

I left her and went up to my room, and hunted out my dark-blue serge dress which I had meant to wear again that winter. But I had to give Mary Elizabeth something, so I took the dress down to her.

She was delighted with it. I could tell she was, because she used her rare and untranslatable expletive.

"Haytian!" she said. "My sister where's got a home in the country, got a dress looks somethin' like this, but it ain't as good. No-o-me. She got hers to wear at a friend's weddin',—gal she was riz up with. Thet gal married well, too, lemme tell you; her husband's a Sunday School sup'rintender."

I told her she needn't wait for Mr. Pier-son, I would put dinner on the table. So off she went in the gathering dusk, trudging bravely back to her Mr. Gales and his high silk hat.

I watched her from the window till she was out of sight. It had been such a long time since I had thought of slavery. I was born in Pennsylvania, and neither my parents nor grandparents had been slaves; otherwise I might have had the same tale to tell as Mary Elizabeth, or worse yet, Roger and I might have lived in those black days and loved and lost each other and futilely, damnably, met again like Cassius and Maggie.

Whereas it was now, and I had Roger and Roger had me.

How I loved him as I sat there in the hazy dusk. I thought of his dear, bronze perfection, his habit of swearing softly in excitement, his blessed stupidity. Just the same I didn't meet him at the door as usual, but pretended to be busy. He came rushing to me with the *Saturday Evening Post*, which is more to me than rubies. I thanked

him warmly, but aloofly, if you can get that combination.

We ate dinner almost in silence for my part. But he praised everything,—the cooking, the table, my appearance.

After dinner we went up to the little sitting-room. He hoped I wasn't tired,—couldn't he fix the pillows for me? So!

I opened the magazine and the first thing I saw was a picture of a woman gazing in stony despair at the figure of a man disappearing around the bend of the road. It was too much. Suppose that were Roger and I! I'm afraid I sniffled. He was at my side in a moment.

"Dear loveliest! Don't cry. It was all my fault. You aren't any worse about coffee than I am about cards! And anyway, I needn't have slammed the door! Forgive me, Sally. I always told you I was hard to get along with. I've had a horrible day,—don't stay cross with me, dearest."

I held him to me and sobbed outright on his shoulder. "It isn't you, Roger," I told him, "I'm crying about Mary Elizabeth."

I regret to say he let me go then, so great was his dismay. Roger will never be half the diplomat that Mary Elizabeth is.

"Holy smokes!" he groaned. "She isn't going to leave us for good, is she?"

So then I told him about Maggie and Cassius. "And oh, Roger," I ended futilely, "to think that they had to separate after all those years, when he had come back, old and with whiskers!" I didn't mean to be so banal, but I was crying too hard to be coherent.

Roger had got up and was walking the floor, but he stopped then aghast.

"Whiskers!" he moaned. "My hat! Isn't that just like a woman?" He had to clear his throat once or twice before he could go on, and I think he wiped his eyes.

"Wasn't it the—" I really can't say what Roger said here,—"wasn't it the darndest hard luck that when he did find her again, she should be married? She might have waited."

I stared at him astounded. "But, Roger," I reminded him, "he had married three other times, he didn't wait."

"Oh—!" said Roger, unquotably, "married three fiddlesticks! He only did that to try to forget her."

Then he came over and knelt beside me again. "Darling, I do think it is a sensible

thing for a poor woman to learn how to cook, but I don't care as long as you love me and we are together. Dear loveliest, if I had been Cassius,—he caught my hands so tight that he hurt them,—and I had married fifty times and had come back and found you

married to someone else, I'd have killed you, killed you."

Well, he wasn't logical, but he was certainly convincing.

So thus, and not otherwise, Mary Elizabeth healed the breach.



THE REAL CAUSES OF TWO RACE RIOTS



ARKANSAS

THE Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has never been enforced thoroughly. This means that involuntary servitude is still widespread in the southern United States. There are even vestiges of the slave trade in the convict lease system and the arrangements for trading tenants. On the whole, however, the slavery that remains is a widespread system of debt peonage and a map of the farms operated by colored tenants shows approximately the extent of this peonage.

The Arkansas riot originated in the attempt of the black peons of the so-called Delta region, (that is the lowlands between Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana) to raise their income. The center, Phillips County, Ark., has 692,000 square miles of land and its chief city is Helena. In 1910 there were 33,535 inhabitants in the country, of whom 26,354 or 78.6% were Negroes. The county is predominately a farming community with \$9,000,000 worth of farm property, and two-thirds of the value of all the crops is represented by the cotton crop. Of the 9,835 males of voting age, 7,479 are Negroes, and of these 5,510 could read and write; nevertheless, all the political power is in the hands of the 4,000 white voters, Negroes having no representation even on juries.

The Negroes are the cotton raisers. Of the 30,000 bales of cotton raised in 1909, they raised 25,000. Most of the Negro farmers are tenants. In the whole county there were, in 1910, 587 colored owners and 3,598 colored tenants. These tenants farmed 81,000 acres of land and raised 21,000 bales of cotton. For the most part the method of dealing with these tenants is described by a local reporter, as follows:

All the white plantation owners had a system whereby the Negro tenants and sharecroppers are "furnished" their supplies. They get all their food, clothing, and supplies from the "commissary" or store operated by the planter, or else they get them from some store designated by him. The commissary or store charges from twenty-five to fifty per cent. interest on the value of the money and supplies advanced or furnished. If any one doubts this statement, let him ask any planter or storekeeper. As a whole, they admit it. They boast that the commissary is the safest and best paying department of the plantation.

A northern white man bought a big farm in Mississippi. Of course, he had a "commissary." When the season was over, he complained that he had made but little money. His southern neighbors asked him questions as to his methods, etc., and found that he had charged the cost price for his supplies and had added ten per cent. for profit, and had settled with his hands at the actual market value of the cotton at the time it was sold. They said, "Hell, man, you haven't got the right system. You don't make money down here on your cotton except in good years. You make your money off your commissary. Besides, never give your niggers a statement of their accounts. If you do, you will ruin every nigger in the country. Just tell them what they've got coming and pay them off and don't let 'em argue or ask any questions."

That is only part of the "system." The landlord takes the cotton, gins it, sells it at the highest market price, and settles with his tenants at the lowest market price for their "share" of the crop. They play both ends against the middle and get the Negro going and coming. If a Negro objects, he is classed as "an insolent nigger" or a "bad

nigger." He is beaten by the "agent" or "boss man" and either driven off the place, or else he admits he is wrong, becomes thoroughly cowed, and then is allowed to remain.

Several years ago the United States Government started to investigate alleged peonage among Italian laborers in the South. To their surprise and chagrin they ran across very little Italian peonage, but a great deal of Negro peonage. In Phillips County a white lawyer, named Bratton, prosecuted a number of cases for the government and convicted a half-dozen planters.

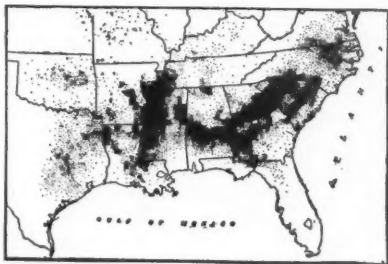
Recently the price of cotton has, as you know, greatly increased. It was about nine cents a pound in 1904, eleven cents in 1915, twenty cents in 1916, and twenty-eight cents in 1917. The price at present is forty cents. This rise in price has made it difficult to keep the Negroes in debt, and, therefore, they have become restive in their demands for itemized settlements.

That was the situation in 1918. Many Negroes had their cotton taken by the planter in October, 1918, but did not get a settlement until July, 1919. They had never been able to get a statement of their accounts from month to month, hence when July came, how could a man dispute an account made the year before? How could he say that he did not get certain supplies in June, 1918, when he did not know until July, 1919, what he was charged with?

The Negroes got tired of it. Sixty-eight of them got together and decided to hire a lawyer and get statements of their accounts and a settlement at the right figures. They decided not to hire a Negro lawyer, because they knew that it meant mobbing and death to any Negro lawyer who would have the presumption to take one of these white planters to court. They were afraid to trust any white lawyer in Phillips County for fear their attorney would lay down on them and fail to get results after getting their money. They canvassed the situation and found that the firm of Bratton and Bratton, white, of Little Rock, was a good, reliable firm, and would fight for a Negro client to the last. They made contracts with this firm to handle all the sixty-eight cases at fifty dollars each in cash and a percentage of the moneys collected from the white planters. Also some of these Negroes

and their friends planned to go before the Federal Grand Jury and charge certain white planters with peonage. These men had meetings from time to time for the purpose of collecting the moneys which were to be paid in advance and to place the same in the treasury; also to collect evidence and gather facts which would enable them to successfully prosecute these cases. These meetings had to be secret to prevent harm and danger to the men concerned and to their families.

Meanwhile another organization sprang up. The Negro cotton pickers organized a union to raise the wages of cotton-pickers and refused to pick cotton until they received higher wages for their work. These meetings were secret. Also, at Elaine were a great many Negroes who worked in the saw-mills and who received fair wages, and who refused to allow their wives and



THE "BLACK BELT"

Here four million Negroes live and at least 500,000 of these are still held in involuntary servitude, in defiance of the 13th Amendment.

daughters to pick cotton or to work for a white man at any price. They did this as a measure of protection to their wives and daughters, who were subject to the advances and insults of white men on the cotton farms.

All these movements became known to the white planters and they resolved to break up the whole business and put the Negroes "in their place." It is the unwritten law of the cotton planter that his Negro tenants "must not take the boss man to law." Woe be unto the "insolent nigger" who attempts it. The white men also learned that Negroes were buying guns and plenty of ammunition. The merchants at Helena reported large sales and the express offices also reported shipments of rifles and shell to

Negroes. The Negroes had read and heard all about the East St. Louis, Washington, and Chicago riots, and knew of the secret Ku Klux Klan movements among the white people in the South. They knew that race hatred on the part of white people was increasing by leaps and bounds and that riots were liable to break out in that section at any time. They were simply preparing to defend their homes and lives, for experience had taught them that Negroes have no protection at the hands of the law. The police and deputy sheriffs either refuse to check the mobs, or else they join hands with the mobs. The assembling of arms was for purely defensive purposes. No Negro was fool enough to think of an "insurrection" against white people.

While the white men were meeting secretly and discussing means of "nipping the niggers in the bud," matters came to a head very suddenly in an unexpected way. On Sunday, before the riot, John Clem, a white man, from Helena, came to Elaine loaded up and drunk on "white mule." He proceeded to bully and terrorize the whole Negro population of over four hundred people by continuous gun play. The Negroes, to avoid trouble, got off the streets, and phoned to the sheriff at Helena. He failed to act. Monday, Clem was still on a rampage. The Negroes avoided trouble, because they feared that his acts were a part of a plan to start a race riot. Tuesday, some Negroes were holding a meeting in a church at Hoop Spur. A deputy sheriff and a "special agent," white, and a Negro trusty came by in an auto. The white men stopped and proceeded to "investigate" the meeting. They were refused admittance. They attempted to break in and fired into the building. Some Negroes returned the fire, killing the special agent and wounding the deputy sheriff, so it is said. However, when the Negro trusty reported the shooting, he said that they had been fired upon from ambush by two white men and a Negro. The wounded deputy also first reported that the party had been fired upon from ambush by two white men and he was quite sure he saw a Negro running from the scene. Later all mention of the white men was carefully avoided and suppressed, and the entire blame was laid upon the Negroes at the church and it was charged that all of them were armed, that the white men were pro-

ceeding peaceably on the road and only got out to fix their car, which just happened to break down right in front of this particular church, and that the Negroes fired on them without any provocation whatever. Later another white man was fired on, and it was claimed that he just happened to be coming along the road an hour later and was shot by Negroes who were at the same church.

It never seemed for a moment unreasonable to the white men to believe that the Negroes would kill and wound white men at the church and then deliberately stay there for an hour or two longer for the purpose of killing another white man. Every sane man knows that those Negroes would have fled from the scene after the first shooting, if they had been guilty.

Anyhow, the hue and cry was raised. "Negro uprising," "Negro insurrection," etc., was sent broadcast. The white planters called their gangs together and a big "nigger hunt" began. They rushed their women and children to Helena by auto and train. Train loads and auto loads of white men, armed to the teeth, came from Marianna and Forrest City, Ark., Memphis, Tenn., and Clarksdale, Miss. Rifles and ammunition were rushed in. The woods were scoured, Negro homes shot into, Negroes who did not know any trouble was brewing were shot and killed on the highways.

Telegrams were sent to Governor Brough. He called for Federal troops and five hundred were rushed from Camp Pike, armed with rifles, cannon, gas masks, hand grenades, bombs, and machine-guns. The Colonel took "charge of all strategic points," and "mobilized his men to repel the attack of the black army." The country was scoured for a radius of fifty to one hundred miles, covering all of Phillips and part of adjoining counties, for "Negro insurrectionists."

The soldiers arrested over a thousand Negroes, men and women, and placed them in a "stockade" under heavy guard and kept them there under the most disgusting, unwholesome, and unsanitary conditions. They were not allowed to see friends or attorneys, but all of them had to be separately and personally "investigated" by the army officers and a white "committee of seven." Even after "investigation" had proven completely that a Negro was wholly inno-

cent, still no Negro was released until after a white man had appeared and personally "vouched" for him as being a "good nigger." The white man was usually a planter or employer and they refused to "vouch" for the Negroes until the Negroes had given assurance and "guarantees" as to work and wages. Finally, all but two or three hundred were released. All Negroes who owned their own farms, or were otherwise independent, were held, as a rule, because no white man would vouch for them. In addition to those held by the soldiers, over three hundred were arrested and placed in the jail at Helena, charged with murder and rioting, and refused bond. They were not allowed to see friends or attorneys and

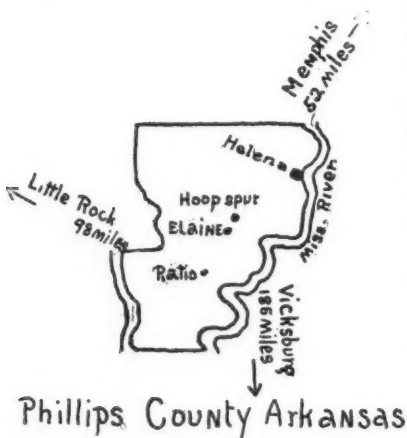
and they determined to take the matter into court.

About fifty of them began to pay the cash fees agreed upon. Many had no cash, so they offered him their Liberty Bonds, which he accepted. While collecting this money and giving receipts, a crowd of white men, who were engaged in the "nigger hunt," came upon him. They arrested Bratton and all the Negroes with him and sent them to jail at Helena, where they were imprisoned on charges of "Murder," and held without bond.

Bratton was on the train on his way to Ratio, which is twelve miles from Hoop Spur, and he and the Negro clients had not yet heard of the trouble when they met to close up the payment of the cash fees intended for his firm. All this time the white press of Arkansas kept up a hue and cry to the effect that Bratton was there "inciting an uprising of the Negroes and teaching them social equality." The feeling was so bitter against young Bratton that there were grave threats and fears of his being lynched. The Governor ordered special guards sworn in, patrols were stationed about the jail, and only the utmost precautions prevented the lynching of a man who was not even a lawyer and whose only crime consisted in collecting fees for his father's firm. It is now openly admitted that Bratton is clearly innocent of any part in the trouble, still he was held thirty-one days without bond in jail and then released without trial, because his father was about to obtain justice for Negro tenants.

The saddest and worst feature of the whole miserable slaughter of Negroes was the killing of the four Johnston brothers. They were sons of a prominent and able Negro Presbyterian minister, who is now dead. Their mother is a very prominent woman and was formerly a school teacher. Dr. D. A. E. Johnston was a successful dentist and owned a three-story building in Helena. One brother fought in France and was wounded and gassed in the battle of Château-Thierry. Dr. Louis Johnston was a prominent physician and lived in Oklahoma. He had come home on a visit.

On the day of the first trouble, the four brothers had gone squirrel hunting early that morning and started for home in the evening, wholly ignorant of the trouble at Hoop Spur. While they were miles out in



were "investigated" by the "committee of seven." This committee was secret at first. Its membership was not disclosed, but was organized and did its work with the direct sanction of Governor Brough.

The next day, after the first killing of the special agent, which occurred at Hoop Spur, O. G. Bratton, a son of U. S. Bratton, arrived at Ratio. There he met many Negroes who had employed the firm of Bratton & Bratton to obtain their settlements. The Negroes represented the sixty-eight tenants on the Fairthy plantation. They had had no settlement of their 1918 cotton crop until July, 1919, and then no itemized account. Two carloads of their 1919 crop were about to be shipped without settlement

THE CRISIS

the woods hunting, word of the trouble reached Helena. A merchant told the deputy sheriffs and posse that he had sold some shells to the Johnstons a day or so before the trouble.

A crowd of men in an auto went to hunt for the Johnstons. They met them returning from the hunt. These white men were supposed friends of the Johnstons. They told them of the trouble and that a riot was in progress and that it would be dangerous for any Negro to be on the country roads, especially armed. The Johnstons told them they had just been hunting and had nothing but shot-guns and squirrel shot. They were advised by their friends to turn back and go home by a train that would pass a little station several miles down the road. They took this advice and went to the station to go by rail to Helena. They left their car with a friend, whom they told of the situation. They had bought their tickets and were on the train when up rolled a car with some deputies. They arrested three of the men and took them from the train. The fourth brother, from Oklahoma, also got off. The officers had with them a man named Lilly, a friend of another white man with whom Dentist Johnston had had trouble, the week before. When Dr. Johnston got off the train, the officers told him to go back. He refused, saying, "These men are my brothers. If you arrest them, I will go too." Then the officers said, "Well, if you are one of the Johnston brothers, we want you, too." They then arrested the Oklahoma man, whose only crime was that of being a brother to the other three.

The men were loaded into an auto and the car went back down the same road they had come over. After going a few miles, a crowd of white men appeared, led by the very "white friends" who had warned the Johnstons to take the train. They had telephoned or sent word to the officers as to where they could get the Johnstons. As the mob approached, Lilly and the officers began to get out of the auto. The Johnstons then saw that they had been led into a trap by their supposed "white friends." They were handcuffed, but they tried to put up a fight. Just as Lilly was climbing out of the car, preparing to turn the helpless men over to the mob, Dr. Johnston, although shackled, managed to grab Lilly's pistol from his hand and shot him. The officers and the

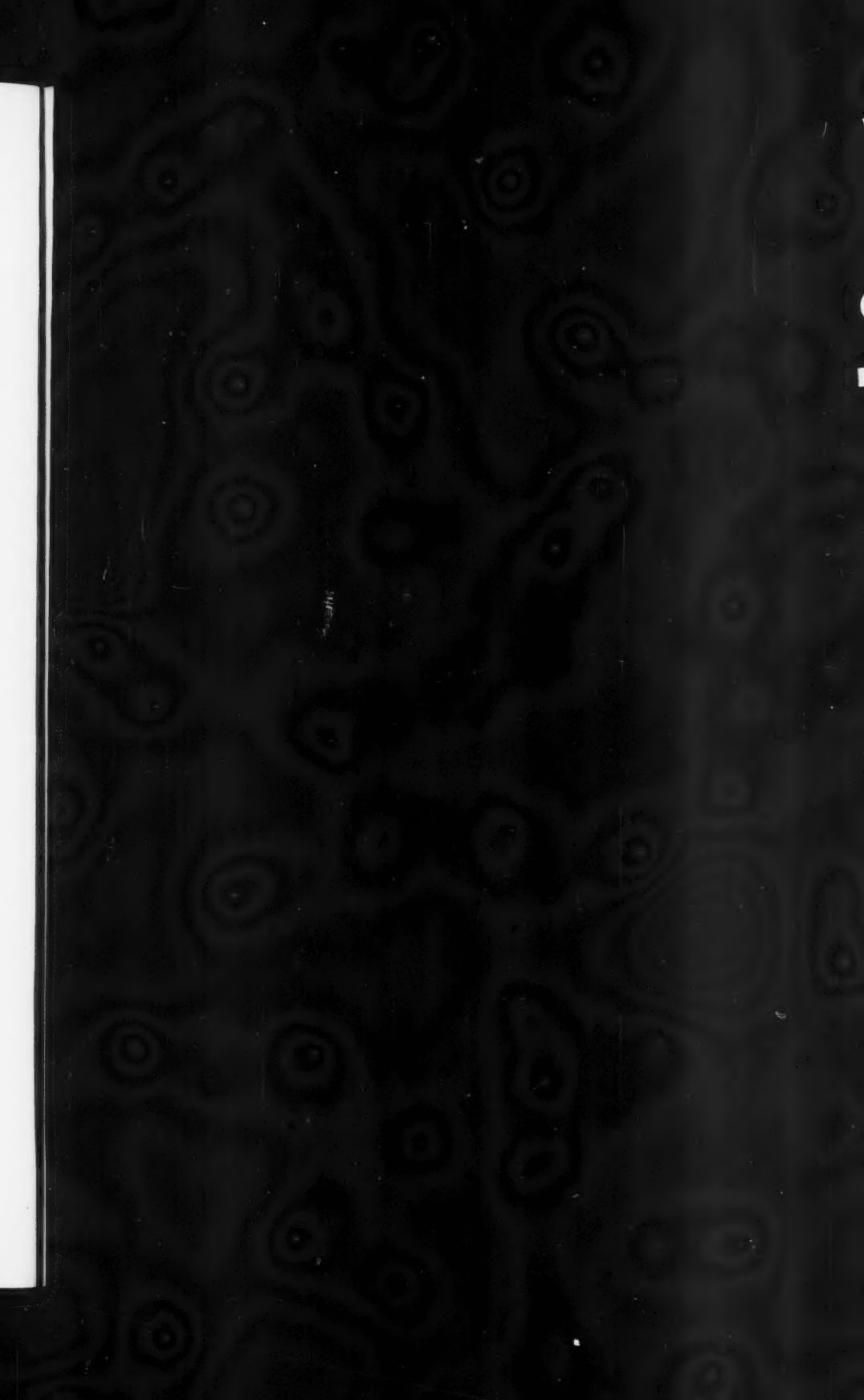
mob then shot the men literally to pieces. They were sowed with bullets, so much so that their faces had to be covered at the funeral, and parts of their bodies were in shreds. The noble mother had to endure the terrible ordeal of seeing four of her fine, promising sons buried in one grave.

The main results of the whole miserable business are as follows: five white men and between twenty-five and fifty Negroes were killed in the riots; the stench of dead bodies could be smelled two miles. One thousand Negroes were arrested and one hundred and twenty-two indicted. Evidence was gathered by a committee consisting of two planters, a cotton factor, a merchant, a banker, the sheriff of the county, and the Mayor of Helena. They are said to have used electric connections on the witness chair to scare the Negroes. Sixty-six men have been tried and convicted—twelve sentenced to death, and fifty-four to penitentiary terms. The trials averaged from five to ten minutes each; no witnesses for the defense were called; no Negroes were on the juries; no change of venue was asked.

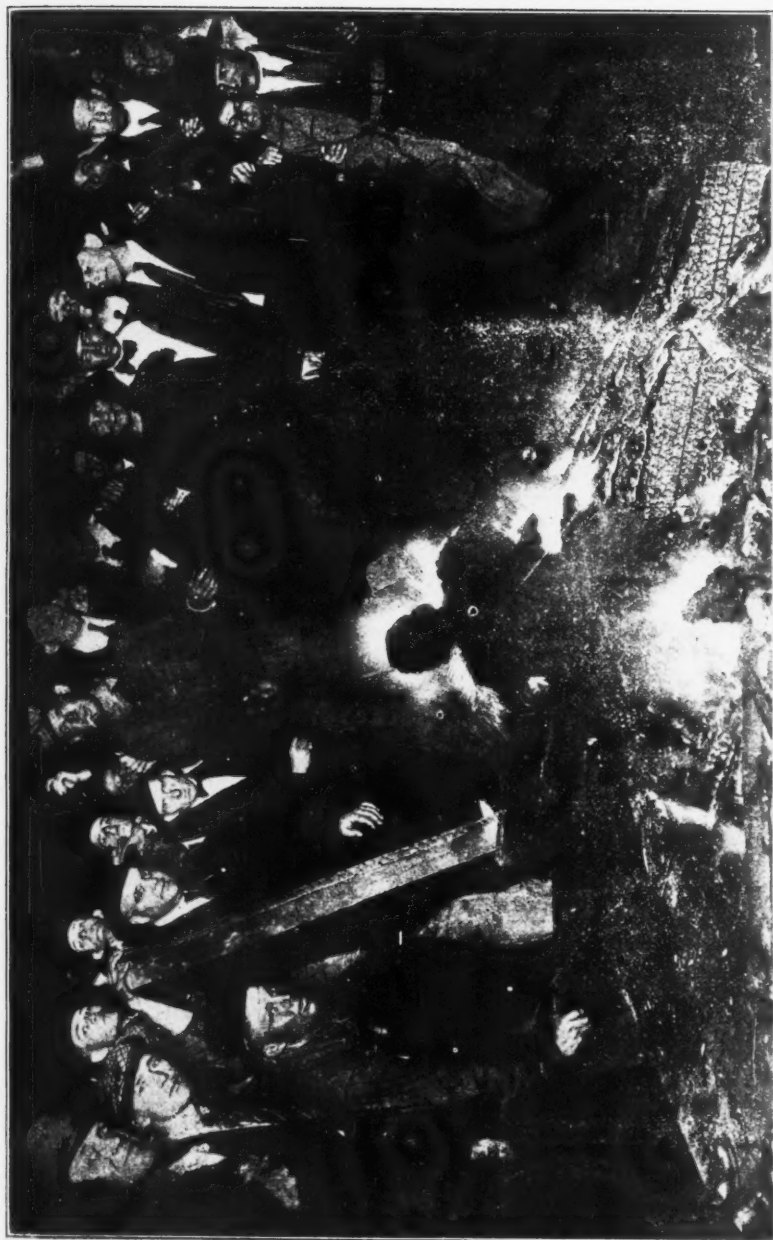
The work of "cleaning up" our people is not yet finished. The Grand Jury is at work and hundreds are to be indicted on charges of murder, rioting, conspiracy, etc. White lawyers at Helena are preparing to reap a harvest of fat fees from Negroes against whom there is no evidence, but who have saved money and property and Liberty Bonds. The Negroes are to be stripped to the bone.

The Negroes in the Black Belt are much demoralized, discouraged, and depressed. Hundreds are preparing to leave. Many Negro leaders, who have stood by the white people and who have counseled their race to stay here, now have not a word to say and many of them are also preparing to wind up their affairs and get out of the South. Negroes here live in fear and terror, afraid even to discuss the situation except in whispers and to well-known friends.

Governor Brough has issued a statement to the public press that he intends to have the *Defender* and *THE CRISIS* suppressed. The *Arkansas Gazette*, white, has issued an editorial demanding that Negro leaders give their people "proper advice," and warning them that their race is in danger of annihilation unless Negroes cease to be led by the lure of Liberty and equal political







THE CRUCIFIXION AT OMAHA

rights and also warning them that the freedom of the Negro from bad economic conditions is not to be obtained by the methods which were resorted to by the Negroes of Phillips County. Also any white man who fights, either in court or elsewhere, for the rights of the Negro is to be put in jail and suffer social and business ostracism from the white people of the South.

OMAHA

FOR forty years Omaha was ruled by a political, criminal gang that was perhaps the most lawless of any city of its size in the civilized world. There had grown up during that period, a powerful group who lived on the proceeds of organized vice and crime. These included about three hundred and eighty-four (384) houses of prostitution, together with saloons, pool halls, organized bank robbers, organized highway robbers, and professional "con" men and burglars.

Whenever a plan was made to have a election of officials, certain men in the community would assemble and hold a conference and they would decide what men it would be "safe" to elect, and they would give The Boss for his service a certain sum of money and control of the vice interests, the Police Department, the Police Court, the juries, and then proceed to elect public officials. This condition obtained, without interruption, from the early history of the city until 1908.

Reforms began in 1908 by an early closing law for saloons, followed by laws which took the control of juries and elections from the vice-ring. In 1916 statewide prohibition was carried.

We thus eliminated the whiskey interests which furnished the most of the money for election purposes, the control of the jury and election machinery, from the gang, and the actual disposition of public officers, but we had not eliminated all of the gang. There was still left the *Omaha Bee*, which had been the mouth-piece of the vice-ring, the thugs and murderers who had ruled for years, and these combined to destroy the present city administration and regain control of the Police Department, which was absolutely necessary for the continuation of the reign and control of vice.

In order to accomplish this, the *Omaha Bee*, assisted at times by the other daily

papers, began a campaign of slander and vituperation against the Police Department of the City of Omaha, and in order to make it effective they chose a line of propaganda to the effect that Negro men were attacking white women, assaulting them with intent to commit rape, and actually committing rape, with the connivance of the Police Department. They made a majority of the people in Omaha believe that all Negro men were disposed to commit the crime of rape on white women.

For years there has been much illegal cohabitation of whites and blacks in Omaha, with about fifteen assignation houses where colored men met white prostitutes. Leading colored citizens asked the police to suppress these dens, but when this was begun, it only increased the slander and vituperation of the *Omaha Bee*, the organ of the vice-ring. This was kept up successfully until the people believed that the police were invading private property without warrant of law and arresting law-abiding citizens.

There was still left in the Police Department from the old regime a large percentage of the police officers protected by Civil Service, who were loyal to the old vice-ring, and they were doing everything within their power to hamper and discredit the honest efforts of the present city administration to enforce the law. The result of this was that together with the campaign of the newspapers, the morale of the Police Department was broken down and the city administration was unable, in the brief space of time that it had been in office, to get rid of these discordant elements. There was, furthermore, in connection with these men, fathered by these same influences, an organized gang determined to wreck the administration at any cost, and they deliberately organized a mob; they furnished it with money and liquor, and the leaders of the old vice-ring stood around in the mob, urging the men to go in and assist in wrecking the Court House, lynch the Negro, and kill the Mayor of the City and other officials.

Both Brown, who was lynched, and the woman who accused him belonged to the under-world which met at the houses of assignation. They had quarreled and the woman "got back" at Brown by alleging attempted assault. It is said that at the time she was wearing a diamond ring given her by Brown.

Men of the Month.

AFTER a careful consideration of many men prominent in Negro education, Professor John W. Davis, Executive Secretary of the Twelfth Street Branch of the Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C., has been selected President of West Virginia Collegiate Institute, at Charleston, W. Va.

Mr. Davis was born in Milledgeville, Ga., February 11, 1888. He is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., and of Chicago University. He was for a number of years a teacher in Morehouse College and served as registrar for that institution for five years.

Professor Prillerman, who for ten years has been head of this institution, will continue his connection, in the capacity of teacher.

Under Mr. Davis' direction, the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Washington has grown to over 2,000 members; 10,000 persons use the building each month for social gatherings and meetings.

Mr. Davis in 1916 married Miss Bessie Rucker of Atlanta, Ga. They have two children.

ANNADEL CHASE KING was a type of the new young womanhood which our race is producing. She was vivid, alert, devoted, and yet altogether lovable. One never thought of her as a woman—she seemed always so young, and yet her work was so thorough and so unwavering that we knew she was more than a woman.

She was born in Atlanta, the daughter of Washington W. King and that brilliant graduate of Atlanta University, Georgia Swift. She had her bachelor's degree before she was twenty and after teaching in the far South came back to her *Alma Mater* to teach Latin in the room of one of the most revered of teachers, her namesake, Professor Thomas Chase. Quietly she settled to her task and on February 19 of this year was, for the first time, as student or teacher, absent from her desk. The delicate, fine strings of her soul and little body had been drawn too tight and she died of nervous prostration last summer. And yet, and with her—

"Nothing can happen more beautiful than Death."

WILLIAM W. SANDERS, of Charleston, W. Va., has been appointed Supervisor of Colored Schools, at a salary of \$2,400 per year and necessary traveling expenses. Mr. Sanders will have under his supervision all the schools for Negroes in the State, and as a member of the Advisory Council to the State Board of Education, he will help to formulate the policies of the two colored normal schools, located at Institute and Bluefield.

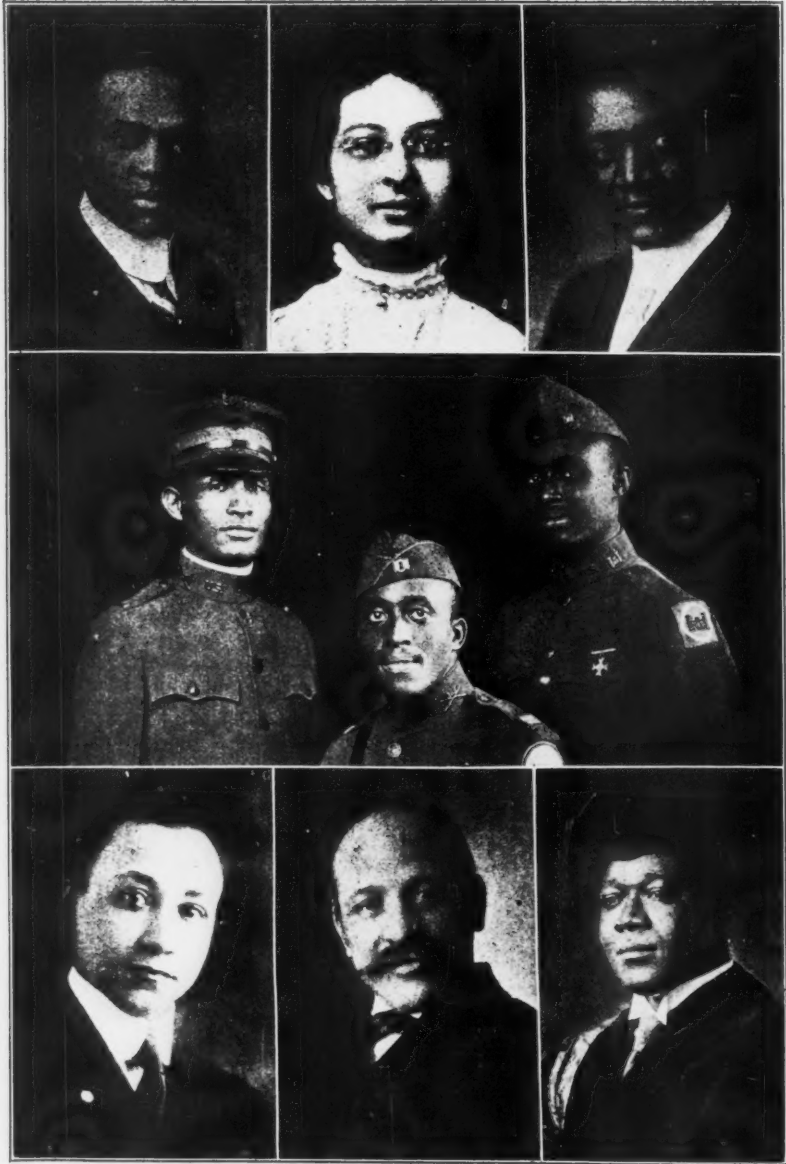
The New School Law provides that: "The Advisory Council shall have charge of all matters with reference to colored schools, subject to the approval of the State Board of Education."

Mr. Sanders formerly held the position of State Librarian, under Governor Hatfield. He resigned in 1914 to become Director of Extension Work Among Colored Schools, and was later State Compensation Commissioner.

Mr. Sanders was born in Henry County, Va., and is a graduate of the collegiate and theological departments of Lincoln University.

NEITHER of the parents of the Ferguson brothers had the privilege of an education, yet they have succeeded in educating five children, and have given three of them college training. The three boys, now living, served in the United States Army during the World War. They are Captain G. E. Ferguson, 365th Infantry; Second Lieutenant D. L. Ferguson, Commander of 84th Company, 7th Gr. M. G. T. C.; and Corporal W. P. Ferguson, 317th Engineers

Captain Ferguson commanded the transport enroute to Europe, with both white and colored officers and enlisted men. He had charge of the troop train through sections of England. He was Counsel for the defense in the Court Martial at Camp Grant for twenty-one colored soldiers, and is partly responsible for their re-trial and the acquittal of many. After his discharge from the Army he served in the re-called Court Martial at his own expense. At present he is one of the most successful real estate men in West Virginia, in less than seven



J. W. DAVIS
LIEUTENANT FERGUSON
DR. L. T. WRIGHT

THE LATE MISS A. C. KING
CAPTAIN FERGUSON
THE LATE E. E. BROWN

W. W. SANDERS
CORPORAL FERGUSON
DR. W. S. QUINLAND





years he has accumulated \$72,000 worth of property, and is president of the West Virginia Home and Investment Company, which he organized.

Lieutenant Ferguson graduated from the Machine-Gun Officers' Training School, Camp Hancock, Ga., with highest honors of any in his company, and third highest in the school, among both white and colored; he was put in command of a Machine-Gun Company. He graduated from Ohio State University in 1916 as Class Orator, being the first Negro in the history of this school to be elected to a class office; in 1917 he received the degree of Master of Science. He holds several state and gymnasium records in Ohio. As a utility man he ran in races at distances varying from 220 yards to five miles and cross country. He is a member of the Varsity Ohio Association, and of the Kappa Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, of which he has been president. At present he is Dean of the College Department of West Virginia Collegiate Institute. It was largely through his efforts that college Negroes serving in Labor Battalions at Camp Lee, Va., were transferred to other divisions and given an opportunity to secure promotions which their qualifications demanded.

Corporal Ferguson served with the 317th Engineers, 1st Corps, in France. He is an artist whose paintings have been exhibited in several state exhibits.

While at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute, he was associated with the late Richard L. Brown, the noted young colored artist, and served as Instructor in Painting and Free-hand Drawing; he also represented the school in state oratorical contests. At present he is a sophomore college student.

Captain Ferguson is thirty years of age; Lieutenant Ferguson, twenty-eight; and Corporal Ferguson, twenty-four.

NEGROES in New York City have taken another step forward, through the appointment of Dr. Louis T. Wright as Physician to the Out-Patient Department of Harlem Hospital.

In 1911 Dr. Wright received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.; in 1915 he was graduated *cum laude* from Harvard Medical School; in 1916 he finished his internship at Freedmen's Hospital and began a practice in At-

lanta, Ga., where he became Assistant Surgeon and Pathologist to Fairhaven Infirmary.

Dr. Wright was commissioned a First Lieutenant of the Medical Reserve Corps, U. S. A., June, 1917, and served as Battalion Surgeon with the 367th Infantry while the regiment was on the Vosges front. He was appointed a member of the Surgical Shock Team of the 92nd Division and was in charge of all the Surgical Wards in Field Hospital 366. In November, 1918, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. In April he began practising in New York City, where one month later he was appointed Clinic Physician, Venereal Staff of the Department of Health.

Dr. Wright was born in LaGrange, Ga., July 23, 1891.

EVERYBODY knew "Ed," as Edward Everett Brown of Boston was always to his friends. He was the genial, smiling *bon vivant* and he and his beautiful wife were the centre of every social gathering in the colored world for nearly thirty years. He was born in Dover, New Hampshire, and trained as a lawyer. He was formerly Deputy Health Commissioner and at the time of his death, Deputy Collector of the City of Boston. Always he was a staunch champion of the rights of his race.

DR. WILLIAM S. QUINLAND has been awarded the first of the new \$1,200 Rosenwald medical scholarships. He will do graduate work in bacteriology and pathology at the Harvard Medical School.

Dr. Quinland is a native of the British West Indies, where he was educated and became a teacher in the public schools; he procured a position as laboratory assistant in the Ancon Hospital, Canal Zone. There he served three years, resigning this position to take a similar one in the Candelaria Hospital, Brazil, where he served over four years.

Dr. Quinland studied at Howard University, received the degree of Bachelor of Science from Oskaloosa College, and this year was graduated from Meharry Medical College. For four consecutive years his general average there was 98%; and he won the first prize in obstetrics. He has passed the Tennessee and West Virginia State Boards of Medicine.



THE American Legion is an association of veterans of the Great War. One million out of the four million soldiers and sailors who served in the war already belong to it, and it hopes soon to get the rest. It boasts that it represents "100 per cent. Americanism." But it looks now as if it intended only to represent 90 per cent. Americanism, for 10 per cent. of the American army (as of the American people) was colored, and the American Legion refuses to make any provision in regard to the admission of this ten per cent.

The Legion was organized at an informal caucus at St. Louis, last May, and then dodged the Negro question by giving each state the right to decide who shall be admitted to membership within its own borders. As a result, colored members have not been admitted, and local posts have been refused charters, in the far South. Georgia and South Carolina limit membership to "Caucasians," in their by-laws, and Alabama and Mississippi, without any written declaration, simply refuse to admit colored members or to charter colored posts. A colored physician in Savannah, applying for a charter, was informed by the state secretary of the Georgia Legion that "these headquarters are limited by the state constitution in their authority to act on applications for charters to applications made by posts composed of Caucasians, and we regret, therefore, that we are unable to take any action on your application."

The first national convention of the Legion was held at Minneapolis, in November. There were present twelve colored delegates: Freelon and McKinney of Pennsylvania, Pryor of Massachusetts, Perkins of Colorado, Walker of Ohio, Long of Nebraska, Cain of New Jersey, Fearance of Missouri, Love of Maryland, Marshall of Michigan, Stewart of Indiana, and Mann of the District of Columbia. In addition to this there were present two white delegates who took a deep interest in their cause, Major J. E. Spingarn and Major Hamilton Fish, Jr., both of New York.

A new constitution was to be adopted, and Major Spingarn drafted a clause to the effect that charters of posts were to be

granted by the national committee upon the recommendation of the state committee, but permitting an appeal to the national committee whenever a state committee refused a charter. This provision was given to the New York member of the committee on constitution, but when he presented it to the committee, the southern members begged that the question be not brought up on the floor of the convention, and promised that if the clause was not included, they would drop the word "Caucasian" from their state constitutions, and would admit all colored posts on the same terms as white posts. They said that they were anxious to do the right thing, but that if the question became an issue before the convention, they would be forced by illiberal opinion at home to take a stand in opposition to their own desires. The member of the committee from Kentucky stated that he regarded these promises as sacred, and that if they were not adhered to, he would denounce the southern members at the next annual convention, and would himself move to have the provision placed in the constitution. As a result of these promises, the northern members of the committee refrained from urging the inclusion of this clause.

The friends of the Negro were in a quandary. Here was a way of winning rights, and yet avoiding controversy,—of obtaining the results they longed for, and yet shielding the colored as well as white delegates from the bitterness of a race clash. Here, they were told, was "statesmanship," and the stoutest champions of the cause were almost inclined to accept it as such. Action was deferred by innumerable conferences with southern and northern delegates, by rumors and further promises, and all seemed well until the chairman of the Alabama delegation frankly stated that the other southern delegates had no authority to bind him, and that he could make no promises for the state of Alabama. Then nothing but battle was possible; but the delay proved to be fatal. The constitution was presented to an over-worked convention at the tail-end of the three-day session, and when the motion to adopt it in

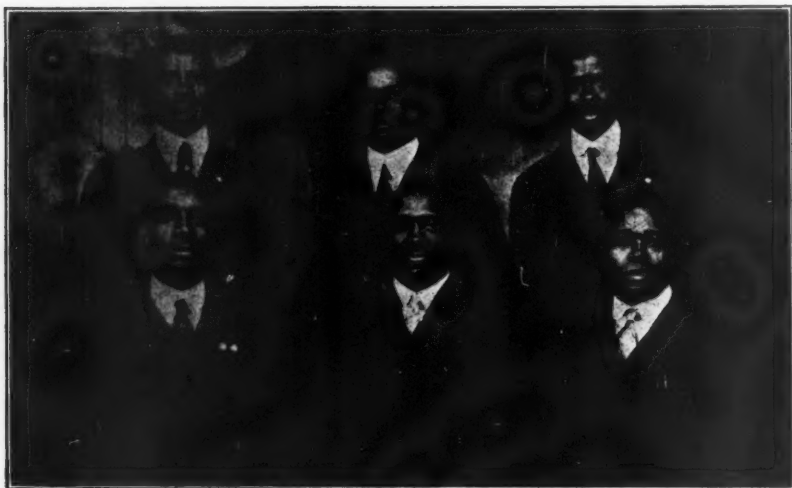


AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN FOR PERMANENT PEACE, ZURICH, SWITZERLAND, 1919. MRS. MARY CHURCH-TERRELL REPRESENTED AMERICAN NEGROES

its entirety was made, the whole convention, led by a southern clique, roared "Question" so loudly that nothing else could be heard. Major Spingarn and others shouted for recognition, over and over again, at the top of their lungs, but their voices were drowned in what seemed a pre-arranged disorder, and the motion was passed with a roar and without discussion. The South had again won by

promises, intrigue, and legal chicanery. But something has been really gained, after all. There were in the convention real friends of the Negro, who still believed that by discussion, by conference, by mutual promise and concession,—in a word, by what is called "statesmanship,"—something in favor of the colored soldier could be won from the more liberal representa-

(Concluded on Page 87)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS OF CLOTHES, AT QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT, PHILADELPHIA, 1918



THE THREE WISE MEN OF

Reprinted from *L'Illustration*, 1914 After the

"What story does this picture tell? It can't be—but yes it is—that child, those gifts, those adoring stares—
reveals itself to our startled eyes. These are the sons, no less—of the Magi Kings,—this Senegalese, this Indian, this
war's ravages have left standing on a farm in Flanders. Many others have pressed on with them to this remotest where
warrior plays on the bag-pipe! All the Allies are there, pledging to the little Belgian babe, their Faith, their Devotion



THE WISE MEN OF OUR DAY

1914 After the design by Lucien Jonas.

adoring adores—and the date which our calendars show us—Christmas Eve! The purpose, the happy intention of the artist is, this Idian, this Arab—offering their poor wealth to a little Belgian baby wide-awake in a stable which is all that is remotest where glows this beautiful star. A French soldier offers part of his riding-gear as a plaything, a Scotch faith, the Devotion—Freedom, Deliverance!"

National Association for the ... Advancement of Colored People.

MODERN EXILES

SOME dozen years ago the Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People attended a luncheon, where she was seated at the left of a well-known Economist. During the first course the Economist devoted himself to her. After courteously asking a few questions regarding recent discrimination against the Negro in the United States, especially in the South, he made this comfortable statement: "But you believe with me, don't you, that Hampton and Tuskegee will cure these evils? When the Negro is an industrious and law-abiding citizen, he will be respected by his neighbors and these unfortunate disturbances will largely cease."

"On the contrary," the Chairman said, "I believe that as the Negro gains in education and power, as he accumulates wealth, discrimination will increase and conditions in the South will grow worse."

This statement was received in an indignant silence and for the rest of the luncheon the Economist devoted himself to the guest at his right.

Time, however, shows that there is some truth in the disagreeable prophecy. The Negro has gained greatly in wealth and education during the last twelve years; he has, moreover, taken part in the greatest war of any time and has done his fair share in securing victory for his country, but only a very blind optimist can fail to see that his very ability has made more difficult his position in the South. The old cry that it is only the criminal, the rapist, whom the South lynches, only the very ignorant now echo. When one learns that an Atlanta University graduate, the son of one of the most respected and prosperous citizens of Atlanta, only missed being lynched in Marietta, Ga., by fifteen minutes, and that he was arrested on evidence too preposterous to be used in a dime novel, one sees that education and position have not solved the race problem. Word has come to us recently from three cities, in which we have

branches, that abundantly bears out this statement. We give the three stories.

In Jacksonville, Fla., is a store run entirely by colored people, capitalized at twenty thousand dollars. The proprietor, Miss A. M. Baker, an Atlanta University graduate, circulated a handbill entitled, "EVERYTHING GOING AT LESS THAN COST," in which, besides a price list assuring the reader of the bargains to be secured in men's over-alls and pajamas, boys' suits, ladies' dresses, she made the following statement:

"The time is here for each one of us to think of making positions for our little COLORED BOYS and GIRLS, who now must be nurses, scrub girls, and every other kind of girl but a girl holding anything but a desirable position where she can be protected. We, as colored people, should see that we are making a vast mistake by spending our money with the other fellow, helping him to send his boy and girl to college, to buy his boy and girl fine homes, automobiles; such luxuries our boys and girls should enjoy if we put our money together as the other fellow does. Have you ever stopped to think that the money you spend out of your race helps to enable the other fellow to hire your daughter as a cook, wash-woman, etc., your boy as a chauffeur or a grass-cutter? Now is the time to stop such foolishness, to get away from such blindness, to wake up and go up as a race.

"We make this appeal to one and all for we know that all the use the other fellow has for a colored race is to get his money. Stop now. Turn your faces against the old ideas, the false ideas, that you can get dry goods, groceries, meats, and drugs cheaper at the other fellow's store, and spend your money where it will return to you."

For this handbill, Miss Baker was arrested in a humiliating manner, brought to the court, and charged with inciting insurrection and sedition. At last accounts she was out on one thousand dollars bail.

A second case is that of M. H. Gassaway, of Anderson, S. C. Thirty years ago Mr. Gassaway opened a little school in that city. Year by year it grew until it was divided into a high and grammar school, with a

combined enrollment of 1,200 pupils and 23 teachers. The curriculum of the school was high, and there was an industrial department in connection in which broom-making was taught. A son of Mr. Gassaway was a very good broom-maker and upon returning from the army, he and his father bought \$1,500 worth of modern machinery, started a small broom factory in which he instructed the boys, paying them for the work which they did after school hours. The trustees approved, one of them giving the factory a \$360 order. All indications seemed to point to a prosperous future for the new broom factory.

In January, colored citizens in Anderson began to take steps to organize a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They put at its head a man who had the respect of the whole community, Mr. Gassaway, principal of the colored high school. During the year the Branch, under his leadership, has done valuable constructive work. To quote from Mr. Gassaway's report:

"We had a committee of five to go over the county and consolidate the schools, so they might secure the Jeanes fund and other funds. By the aid of these funds the schools secured better teachers and lengthened their terms. Another committee met with the County Superintendent and by this means got about fifteen illiteracy schools during the late summer. These schools proved a success.

"The Branch took up the case of one of the women teachers in the Reed Street High School, who was accused of stealing some lace in the Woolworth store. She was taken into the back of the store and when she started to scream, was choked by the manager. She was tried and acquitted of the charge, through the aid of the N. A. A. C. P. Branch, which spent over \$150 in pushing her case. The jury was out only ten minutes. Her attorney then sued the Woolworth company for ten thousand dollars damage. I do not know how they came out.

"When the soldiers came home, the city got out working cards and hunted up everybody who had just returned. They wanted the soldiers who had come from France and anywhere else to go right to work, regardless of being tired or nervous or anything else. I got that stopped by talking with the Mayor and stating facts regarding our soldiers and that if this were not stopped, they would leave Anderson. One man was arrested on the charge of vagrancy just after his return from France. It wasn't vagrancy at all. Some of his friends came to my school and asked me to see about him. I went and got the fine returned to his mother,

as the young man had already left the town."

These were the activities of the Anderson Branch. But from its inception Mr. Gassaway became the object of bitter and incendiary attacks by the editor of one of the newspapers, the *Anderson Tribune*. For two months the editor did all that he could to stir up racial antipathy against Mr. Gassaway, because he refused to withdraw his connection from the Branch. He stated that Mr. Gassaway, as principal of the colored high school, was preaching social equality, and he aroused bitterness against the principal among an ignorant class in Anderson. The Superintendent of Schools and the Chief of Police knew and respected Mr. Gassaway and were not influenced by these attacks.

Advised by his superintendent, Mr. Gassaway made a reply to these accusations through the medium of another local paper, in which he asserted that he had never taught nor believed in "social equality." The editor of the *Tribune*, who seems to have been an ordinary type of a rural southern editor, answered this statement with a long editorial.

The editor went on to misinform his readers that Mr. Gassaway received his pay as president of the Anderson Branch on one hand and his salary from the city on the other. He said that Mr. Gassaway as President of the Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. must necessarily believe in social equality of the races, because the objects of the Association were among others to secure a vote for the Negro on an equal basis, a fair trial in the courts, the right to sit on the jury which judges him, defense against lynching, equal rights in public parks, libraries, etc.

It concluded the attack with saying: "If those of the city officials who are clothed with authority care to persist in retaining Gassaway in the position he now holds in connection with the city schools, the *Tribune* is willing to admit that it is powerless to remedy the situation."

After repeated attacks of this nature matters reached a crisis. While lecturing to one of his classes Mr. Gassaway was warned by a friend that the mob spirit was being aroused against him. He went to the Chief of Police, asking protection and was promised it. While he was there talking to

the Chief, the editor of the *Tribune* approached them both and said, "Gassaway, if you are not out of town by sundown and no one has killed you, I will do the job for you." The Chief pushed the man away, saying he didn't want any trouble. Things became so serious that both Mr. Gassaway's white and colored friends advised him to leave as quickly as he could, for they feared the low class of whites who were merely waiting for him to refuse to leave. Although loath to go, because of the fact that the results of a life-time of service were in Anderson, Mr. Gassaway and his eldest son hurriedly gathered together a few things, succeeded in getting out of the town, and made their way to Cleveland. When they left, they had \$2,500 worth of orders on their books, which they would have filled in the factory in the next two months.

The third case is in Montgomery, Ala. This city, recently the scene of three lynchings in one day, has expelled three of its most influential colored men. One of these men, a prosperous dentist, incurred the displeasure of a white man and was arrested and sentenced to serve six months on the chain-gang. His brother-in-law, a prosperous physician, and a friend of considerable means, signed the bond of the arrested man and got him out of jail. The mob of September 29, which lynched successively three men, also went to the house of the dentist, intent upon getting him. When they arrived at his home, they found the house lighted, but nobody there. They ransacked the house from top to bottom. Failing to find him at his house, the thwarted mob went after the brother-in-law and the other bondsman, saying that had they not stood his bond, he could not have got out of jail. Thus all three of these men and their families were ordered to leave Montgomery.

Later information shows that the men are back in Montgomery, though two are apparently winding up their affairs, preparing to leave, while the third is very ill.

These men had bought Liberty Bonds, had subscribed to the Red Cross, and acquitted themselves through the difficult period of the war as patriotic citizens. In every case they were building up race pride and racial self-consciousness. But they might have been stealing chickens or loafing idly about

the village saloon for all the consideration their communities gave them.

Readers of *THE CRISIS* will draw their own conclusions regarding these happenings. We would only note one matter, too important to be omitted. The Negro problem is primarily an economic problem. The camouflage of the "criminal Negro" and "social equality" cannot be accepted any longer by anyone of average intelligence.

There is nothing new in the situation. It is common throughout the world. It is the old-time feudalism and the new-time industrial servitude. Those in power desire to retain a class or a race that shall do the dirty work, that shall serve their needs. If members of this class revolt, they shall be exiled or kept in subjection at home. Let us in America face these facts; and let the Economist, whether he be the professor of a Northern college, or the Governor of a Southern State, recognize the truth and not hide behind age-worn sophistries or thoughtless platitudes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF PAYMENT OF PLEDGES MADE AT THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

AT the Cleveland Conference \$11,565 was pledged to the General Fund of the Association by 82 branches and 46 individuals. Up to November 26, the following had been received.

<i>Branches</i>	
Cleveland, Ohio.....	\$ 500.00
Urbana, Ohio.....	100.00
San Diego, Cal.....	100.00
Des Moines, Iowa.....	58.75*
Little Rock, Ark.....	50.00
<i>Individuals</i>	
Bishop John Hurst, Baltimore, Md.....	\$100.00
Mrs. M. Hunter, Cleveland, Ohio.....	50.00
Mrs. Laura E. Jackson, Fort Wayne, Ind.....	25.00
Mrs. Mattie McAdoo, Cleveland, Ohio.....	25.00
M. E. Auther, Cleveland, Ohio.....	25.00
Mrs. A. H. Gardner, Rochester, N. Y.....	25.00
Miss Helen M. Chesnutt, Cleveland, Ohio.....	25.00
Dr. Amanda V. Gray, Washington, D. C.....	10.00
Harry E. Davis, Cleveland, Ohio.....	10.00
Cora B. Finley, Atlanta, Ga.....	10.00

The National Office urges prompt payment on the part of the branches and individuals who have not yet redeemed their pledges.

* \$100 pledged.

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

THE Nominating Committee for members of the Board of Directors of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People reports the following nominations:

For terms expiring December 31, 1922:
 Miss Jane Addams, Chicago,
 Dr. Charles E. Bentley, Chicago,
 Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop, New York,
 Mr. Robert R. Church, Memphis,
 Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York,
 Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York,
 Hon. Charles Nagel, St. Louis,
 Miss Mary White Ovington, New York,
 Mr. Charles Edward Russell, Washington,
 Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, Buffalo.

For election to the Board under the provision that the Board be increased to 40, passed at the last annual meeting, for one year and three-year terms:

Dr. J. Max Barber, Philadelphia... 1 year
 Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka..... 3 years
 Mr. Harry E. Davis, Cleveland.... 1 year
 Mr. Harry H. Pace, Atlanta..... 3 years

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE,
 MAJOR J. E. SPINGARN,
 GEORGE W. CRAWFORD,
 ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

ANNUAL MEETING

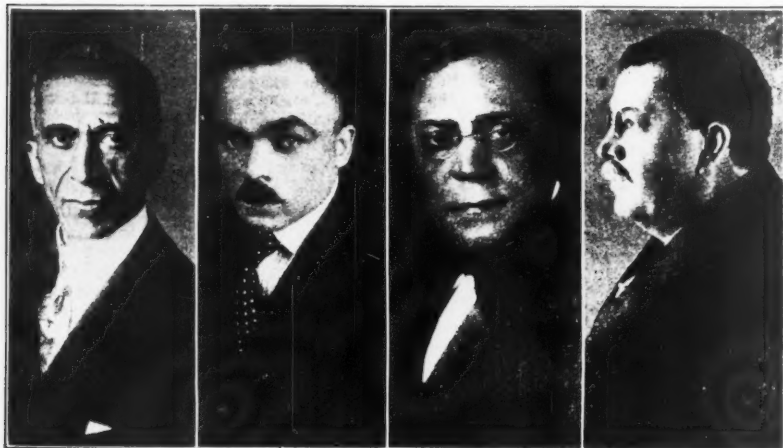
THE Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held in the East Room of the Sage Foundation, 130 East Twenty-

second Street, New York City, on the afternoon of Monday, January 5, at two o'clock. There will be reports from officers and branches and the nominations for Directors will be voted upon. In the evening, at eight o'clock, there will be a mass meeting at Cooper Union. Among the speakers will be the Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

DROPPED BRANCHES

THE N. A. A. C. P. dislikes nothing more keenly than losing a Branch. It wants to hold on to every Branch and to every membership. But it also wants its records to mean living organisms, not dead ones. Therefore, it reluctantly prints the names of those Branches *from which it has collected no dues and received no reports*, during the year 1919. Such Branches will be dropped in 1920 unless they reorganize and become active supporters of our work. Will not any CRISIS reader who belongs to one of these Branches take this as a personal appeal and himself or herself see to it that the work of the Association shall continue in his or her town?

Waycross, Georgia,
 Evansville, Indiana,
 Montclair, New Jersey,
 Fayetteville, North Carolina,
 Dayton, Ohio,
 Muskogee, Oklahoma,
 York, Pennsylvania,
 Fayette County, Tennessee,
 Morgantown, West Virginia.



ELECTED COLORED OFFICIALS
 DR. C. H. ROBERTS GEORGE A. HARRIS EDWARD H. MORRIS REV. ARCHIBALD CAREY
 (See page 86)

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

ETHEL MERRILL BEALE in *The Congregationalist And Advance*:

*If Christ should come as a Negro,
With His burning love for men,
Would they cry out: "Lynch!" as He tried
to save?
Would they stand and mock as His life He
gave?
Would Calvary live anew?*

*And then, too late, would they see the right?
Would they learn that the black man's soul is
white?*

* * *

We have received *The Teachers' Journal*, *The Monitor*, and the *Literary Magazine*, all Negro publications, from the Island of Trinidad. We have also Lightbourn's *Annual and Commercial Directory of the Virgin Islands*, and a *Directory of the Colored People of Gary, Ind.*, and also of *South Bend and Elkhart, Ind.*, edited by Floyd G. Snellson, Jr.

These directories are informing and encouraging and ought to be on every colored business man's desk.

* * *

Recent treatment of the Negro in periodicals:

Two Negro Lullabies. L. R. Miner. *Outlook*, September 17, 1919.

Gunpowder of Race Antagonism. M. W. Ovington. *American City*, September, 1919.

Race Problem. *Outlook*, September 10, 1919.

Race Problem as Seen from The South. *Outlook*, September 10, 1919.

What Does The Negro Want? M. W. Bullock. *Outlook*, September 17, 1919.

Scholarships for Negro Medical Students. *School and Society*, September 20, 1919.

Negroes In Industry. *Survey*, September 27, 1919.

Our Own Race War. *North American Review*, October, 1919.

EUROPE IN AFRICA

THE Baptist World publishes these indictments:

"Clearly, civilization is on the wrong side of the account: it has brought more evil than good to the African."—"The unjust

and cruel wars of suppression, in which every European power has engaged, of punitive expeditions, have been little better than massacres."—"The African is not to have a home in his own continent."—"In every possible way the African is made to feel his inferiority."—"The contemptuous attitude of the white man is gall and wormwood to his soul."—Dr. C. H. Patton.

"European influence advances with the sword in one hand and the Bible and a case of gin in the other."—Dr. White.

"Unless the natives are given a moral foundation, material prosperity that comes with European control is to the aboriginal races certain destruction."—Mr. Gibbons.

"It is a shock to the self-complacency of the white man to reflect that millions of the world's population are threatened with a "White Peril" that is very real and potent. Christian civilization without Christ is worse than paganism. The state of morals among some Europeans is scarcely whisperable. It is awful the amount of filth and corruption introduced by them."—Prof. Wilson S. Naylor.

"A few years ago to make the statement 'civilization is imperiled' would have seemed fantastic to the majority of level-headed men and women. To-day it is the expression of a constant thought that troubles all of us. It is the most fully-poised members of the community who are most anxious. Only the irresponsible and thoughtless are unconscious of a vast peril to that slow growth of the ages, which we call our civilization. Practical men, with their feet planted solidly on the earth, are looking into the future as into an immeasurable darkness, and they are not sure whether there is solid ground in front of them, or whether the next few steps may bring them to the brink of a precipice."—Alfred Noyes.

* * *

A perusal of the grievous legislation enacted against natives in South Africa shows that the above indictments err on the side of mildness. The *African Telegraph* gives us a list of laws which native South Africans are supposed to observe. We append a few:

Defence Force Act, 1911.

Having disarmed the natives politically the white people of South Africa proceeded to strengthen themselves by passing in the Union Parliament the Defence Force Act 1911, in which "color bar" was introduced. since it became law that no person could become a member of the Citizen Force unless he was of European descent.

Natives Lands Act, 1913.

Having thus rendered the native people helpless and defenceless, the Union Parliament passed the Natives Lands Act, 1913. Under this Act no native is allowed to buy land, except in the Cape, pending the report of the Lands Commission, which was appointed to find land that was unsuitable for European settlement, so as to reserve same as an area in which the black man could buy and own land.

The Commission has reported, and the land they found is situated for the most part in marshy, malarial, and barren districts. There are about 5,000,000 native people in the Union territories, and to them is allotted 13 per cent. of the land, while 87 per cent. is reserved for whites, who are only 1½ million. Thousands of people are today homeless.

Native Urban Areas Bill, 1918.

This was introduced in 1918, and enacts that no native shall reside in towns or engage in trade on their own account therein. Women, as well as men, are to carry passes. There is provision for the medical inspection of women whenever they come into towns to work. At a place called Starkstroom, in the Cape, women and men, up to this day, have their hair shaved clean, and are examined naked by a male doctor, disinfected, and kept for 24 hours before being allowed to proceed. The process is repeated on the return journey on completion of their work.

Civil Service.

All colored interpreters and clerks in the Law Courts and Native Affairs Department have been dismissed since Union, and replaced by Dutchmen, who are practically ignorant of native languages. Hence, many innocent people are convicted as criminals.

It is in the Government regulations that no native is to be employed in any clerical position, even though he passes the Civil Service examination.

There are separate post-offices for blacks, which are generally situated either at the back or in the underground of the white post-office. Strange to say that even in these post-offices no native clerks are employed, in spite of many protests and petitions to the Government. No native is allowed to enter a white post-office, or keep his hat on within any public office.

Taxation and Education.

The lack of uniformity in taxation constitutes a serious grievance, mostly among the natives of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In the Transvaal they are taxed directly £2 a head per annum, men and boys over the age of 16. In the Free State the head-tax is £1. In Natal there is a legal tax of £1 which has not been enforced since 1906, and up to now the head tax is 14s. per annum.

All these taxes are payable till death, or till exempted by extreme age or physical in-

capacity. The average native laborer earns about 1s. 6d. per diem.

Notwithstanding these enormous taxes, the State practically contributes nothing towards native education. All native schools are established by missionaries from Great Britain and America. Of course, the Government helps the missionaries with little sums of money. At one time in the Transvaal the Government grant to native schools was little over the sum of money expended by them for the upkeep of the animals in the Pretoria Zoo. In 1917 the grant in that Province was about £17,000 for more than a million natives.

Pass Laws.

In the Transvaal every man is forced to carry a pass, while in the Orange Free State both men and women are affected. No one may leave his town or farm, even though it may be only two minutes off, without a pass. Any native found in town, even outside the door of his own house, without a pass after 9 p.m. is liable to arrest and imprisonment.

If a man leaves his home to go to a town in search of work, he has to have a traveling pass. On arrival he has to go to the pass office and obtain a "special pass," to enable him to look for work in town for six days only. If he does not find work within the six days, he is imprisoned for a fortnight. On being liberated he is given another six days in which to find work. If he succeeds in getting any, his master has to see that he is registered in his (the master's) name at the pass office. The master retains the passport, and the man is given a monthly pass. On discharge the master signs the passport and describes the man's character therein. Some whites in South Africa are bad payers, and they generally neglect or refuse to pay their servants at the end of the month, and this generally brings about quarrels between the parties. Then the white man having the passport in his possession (no native can leave his master without the passport) spoils the man's character by marking on the passport either "no good," "lazy," or "dangerous," &c. With the man's character thus described on the passport, it is impossible for him to obtain work anywhere. Should he lose his passport, or, in desperation, destroy it, he is imprisoned, his fingerprint taken, and he is branded a criminal. Many have been driven to highway robbery as a consequence of this system.

If a native happens to be living in town location in the Free State, and is not working for a white employer, he has to pay for passes a tax of 5s. monthly each in respect of himself, his wife, and every child above the age of 16.

A strike against the Pass Laws is now in progress. Men have been shot, and men and women are being imprisoned.

These Pass Laws are similar to those which existed in the United States during the days of slavery.

"BENEFITS FORGOT"

THE failure to include American Negro troops in the Peace Demonstration in Paris was one of the most patent instances of ingratitude in the history of the country. Rossa B. Cooley, Principal of Penn Normal and Industrial School, St. Helena Island, S. C., writes in the *Survey*:

It is well to see the other man's point of view, and at this crisis it would be better for whites and Negroes if each race knew the other better. I will quote from a letter just received from a Negro Y. M. C. A. worker, J. E. Blanton of Penn School, St. Helena Island, S. C., who has had an unusually wide experience with the Negro troops, both in the camps of the United States and in France. He represents thousands of his race:

"I saw the great victory parade, on July 14, and I want to tell you—to stand in line and see some 25,000 men, horses, and equipage go by is a wonderful experience. I was within twenty feet of General Pershing, Marshals Joffre, Foch, Petain, and Sir Douglas Haig, as they came down the Champs Elysées. We in America do not know how to yell! We need lessons, and had you been in the crowd of 5,000,000 Frenchmen and 1,000,000 other people on July 14, for six hours, as I was, you, too, would say that we really need lessons. England, France, Belgium, the United States, Serbia, Greece, Italy, China, Japan, Portugal, and one or two other nations had their representatives in line. England had Canadians, Australians, Scotch, Londoners, Indians, and Africans in line. France had Frenchmen, Soudanese, Sengalese, Madagascans, Moroccans, and every other race that fought under her flag in line. Every nation had all the races that fought in the war, except the United States. Although there were over a thousand Negro troops here outside of Paris, the United States was represented only by white men. The French people were very much amazed and put out, for they have not forgotten that three regiments of American Negroes were decorated for bravery by the French government. The French papers spoke of it, so I guess General Pershing felt as bad afterwards as I felt during the parade, that they did not have at least one lot of fifty men with black faces in line under the stars and stripes. I had not long come from Romagne, where I looked on the graves of several thousand colored men from America—and there were also 200,000 of them over here. So you can see how we feel about it."

Can we put ourselves in their places? Could we write a letter so restrained and with so little bitterness? Must the Negro race be ignored after the record made in this world war? Their country called for men and they responded. The color of their skin was not questioned when they were asked

to give their lives for the United States. Is it impossible to grant them a place in this country, where loyal service as citizens is needed from all our resident races?

* * *

Evidently Great Britain followed this same bad example in her Peace Jubilee, for a contributor comments in the *Supplement to the African World*:

Quae Regio in terris non plena laboris?
The proud imperial cry has been quoted again and again during the past week as an appropriate echo from the hearts of all who shared in the Peace procession on Saturday last. What part of the world has not been included in our fight for justice for mankind—is its paraphrase in application to recent events. And yet one group was absent from those representatives of the hosts which have fought and suffered for the great cause. At the triumphant march of victory, when the last files of fighting men, from every clime and country which had joined the Allies, trailed away in the distance, after touching the deep, human note of that never-to-be-forgotten salute at the Cenotaph to "Our Glorious Dead," the query passed through my mind—Where did Africa come in? That enthralling processional march touched emotions almost too deep for expression, but it seemed scarcely credible to us onlookers that no single representative of the fighting forces of West and East Africa—not to mention the gallant Soudanese and Cape colored contingents—had his place in the magnificent and moving display.

The omission of the Negro forces of Africa, who had played their part in the great, widespread fight for the freedom of the world, left a sharp impression of incompleteness about the march on those who knew their splendid loyalty, their indomitable courage, and their bearing under incredible hardships, in one of the three continents in which war has been raging in the past five years. I can quite appreciate the difficulties which would be experienced in bringing Gold Coast or Nigerian W. A. F. F.'s or K. A. R.'s from East Africa at short notice, but is it not regrettable that no effort to overcome these difficulties appears to have been made? Even if the difficulties in securing representatives of the rank and file were insurmountable, through shortness of time and prohibitive distance, surely some units of the African Labor Contingents could at least have been provided for. Only this week twelve hundred men of the South African Labor Continent have left for their homes. If a bare two hundred of these had marched, it would have been better than nothing. But no Africa was invited in the official celebration of the Empire's triumph. No salutation to their glorious dead was offered; no public acclaim of the living was made possible to remind the onlookers that the price of Empire had been also paid-in-full by its dusky sons in Africa. It was a

deplorable omission that Africa was unwept, unhonored, and unsung in the culminating celebration of Perce.

* * *

A colored subscriber writes us from Los Angeles, Cal.—

I had occasion to see Albert, King of Belgium, today in street parade. All nations were represented except ours. The only representative we had was an auto driver. I noticed several "pale faces" hissing at the Japanese as they came by.

BEWILDERMENT

THE real gravity of the Omaha riot lies in the fact that it is symptomatic of the lawlessness which bids fair to be America's ruin. Lucia Ames Mead writes in the *New York Evening Post*:

Under pretext of making crime against a woman something that "transcends law," a United States Senator yesterday uttered as treasonable and incendiary language as ever gave encouragement to those who would overthrow law and order. Nothing is going to be done to retrieve the shameful situation until our clergy denounce, not merely sin in general, but our specific national sin, until our schools teach the principles of justice to all, until our editors have the courage to condemn lawless talk of legislators as well as that of I. W. W.'s; and until our people cease their silence and apathy about America's blackest disgrace.

As a woman, I feel deeply all wrongs to other women, but mad mob vengeance, wreaking itself on innocent and guilty and government officers, alike, never lessens woman's dangers and only bestializes whole communities.

State laws have failed to give us that "liberty and justice for all" which every schoolboy attributes to our country in his daily flag salute. Is it not time that petitions should go to those men in Washington who can make the Federal power ensure to every black man a fair trial and a legal punishment if guilty? Unless the Senator's words be roundly condemned by the general public for their contempt of law, our lawmakers and our laws may soon have little power to preserve us as a civilized people.

* * *

These words in the *Atlanta Constitution*, from the lips of C. B. Wilmer, a Georgia clergyman, are significant:

If there ever was a time in the history of the human race when only words of truth and soberness should be spoken, that moment is now. If ever there was a time when we needed to know what forces are really effective to stamp out rebellion and crime it is now. It is no time for lunatics to be abroad. One must, therefore, deplore the reported utterances of Senator Williams, of

Mississippi, to the effect that the "protection of women transcends all law, human and divine." It is within bounds to say that that is as wild and incoherent a statement as ever proceeded from a madhouse. To assume that the unrestrained orgy of revenge and passion is going to protect anybody or anything is crazy; to assume that we can protect anybody that ought to be protected by transcending divine law is blasphemous.

* * *

This is the practical and serious aspect of the matter. So far as our situation in the South is concerned, I cannot conceive of a more pernicious doctrine to spread abroad than that we can protect our women by the course recommended. Nothing so fires the Southern heart as the appeal to chivalry. Nothing, accordingly, is so dangerous if misdirected. There can be no greater appeal to our sympathies than is presented by the victim of brutal crime. If it were true that we could stamp out crime by the fury of violence, that blazes the way of our redemption. But it is not true, and most awful is the appeal to all that is best in us to work the worst. Satan is disguised as an angel of light.

* * *

I challenge the statement of the Senator from Mississippi and I appeal to him as a citizen of a great republic, whose mission it must be to lead the world between the extremes of autocracy and anarchy.

* * *

I submit to him and to all others the opposite proposition, viz.: that there is no protection of our women save in the maintenance of law and order and in the bringing to bear in all our problems the spirit of true religion.

ATTENTION, PLEASE, KING ALBERT

A BELGIAN newspaper is responsible for this account of justice in the Congo:

M. Ebers, Deputy from Brussels, laid the following matter before the Colonial Minister.

Some Belgians who have lately returned from the Congo brought back this report:

A revenue officer, son of a former Senator, in the course of a campaign devoted to tax-collecting brought in about one hundred delinquents,—whom he insultingly termed gallow-birds in his letters—and turned them over to the outpost as prisoners.

The prison was too small, but the officer put them there just the same. The next day forty prisoners were found dead of suffocation and hunger.

The father of the officer, who was finally condemned to serve a sentence, visited the high dignitaries of the Congo. Meanwhile, the colleague of the officer was allowed to leave the prison, even to seek a position, and finally was acquitted; but the real culprit,

who had issued the orders and been condemned on the same count, at the same trial, and by virtue of the same article of the code, remained at large,—and it is even said in Congo that the matter is closed.

The Minister certainly ought to have some knowledge of these facts. Will he be kind enough to inform us and to tell us how these two methods of procedure may be reconciled?

M. Franck made the following reply.

The administration is acquainted with the facts as they follow:

In November, 1916, the administrator of the Department of Medge came back from a tax-collecting campaign in the county-seat of the Department, and brought with him a hundred or so natives who had not paid their taxes, and who, consequently, were subject to imprisonment, according to the legislation then in force. They were incarcerated in the guard-house, which served as a house of detention. The next morning the administrator's deputy found thirty-nine of these black men asphyxiated and a large number ill. Of these last, several died as a result of the treatment to which they had been exposed.

The gravity of these facts warranted the immediate intervention of those in higher authority and of the courts of justice. The territorial administrator, his deputy, and the black corporal, who had had charge of the guard-house, were prosecuted for involuntary manslaughter.

A court of justice at Stanleyville sentenced the administrator and his deputy (the first did not appear at the trial, but the second was on hand) each to eighteen months penal servitude and forty dollars fine. The verdict, furthermore, sentenced them to pay damages to the heirs of each victim.

The verdict was carried out with respect to the deputy in accordance with the sentence pronounced on his misdemeanor, and this he accepted without protest in view of the seriousness of the charge.

He was acquitted, however, by an ordinance of the Governor-General, March 5, 1919. The officials in charge had the territorial administrator notified of this. The latter returned to Congo, had the case appealed, and appeared at the new trial with his father as counsel. The Court of Appeal, on the eighth of July, 1919, returned a verdict of not guilty in favor of the territorial administrator.

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, editor of *Reedy's Mirror*, has a stirring article in a recent issue on Great Britain's persecution of her Indian subjects. Mr. Reedy shows how America, the world's famous propagandist of the rights of man, is abetting the English in their unjust endeavors. He says, in part:

I wonder if people are not getting tired of all the "bunk" that is being talked about democracy in this country, while they are hearing at the same time of some things that are being done in the name of democracy. There are the cases of the Indian agitators, now imprisoned here and held for deportation because of their propaganda in behalf of self-government for their native land.

As practical folk, helpless in the storm of passion, we may have reconciled ourselves to the activities of our authorities against those men while the war was on, in accordance with the theory that we were bound to suppress revolutionary movements calculated to injure the military efforts of our ally, Great Britain. To the extent that the revolutionists were fighting England, they were aiding our enemies as well as England's. But the war is over now. One would think that, this being the case, we should not be making war upon the nationalists of India.

Within the past few weeks three more Hindus have been arrested for deportation to India. The men are D. K. Sarkar, in New York, and Bhagwan and Santokh Singh, of Seattle. These, with Gopal Singh, arrested for transportation some months ago, Taraknath Das, now in Leavenworth Prison, and some others, if sent back home, will be in effect condemned to death, for that has been the fate of their fellows in agitation at the hands of the British government.

These men were arrested after the war. What for? Why, for exactly the thing of which Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and others, held in immortal memory by all Americans, were guilty; they have been struggling to free their country from the rule of the stranger.

MISCELLANY

LUDENDORFF speaks in the *New York World* of Germany's failure to utilize her colonials:

The Colonial Office had not paid sufficient attention to the defensive possibilities of the colonies. One cannot estimate too highly the benefits France has reaped from her colonies in the prosecution of the war. Especially in the summer of 1918 she carried on the fighting largely by means of colored troops. We could never, of course, have done this, but we might have reaped greater advantage from our colonial possessions.

* * *

The *New York Sun* tells of conditions in the school system of Dover, Del.—

The condition of the Negro schools is described by the report of the service citizens' committee as generally far below those of the white. There are matters relating to these schools that will not bear printing. Of them the report says in part:

"The general condition of these schools is intolerable. Broken down, antiquated furniture, dilapidated and unattractive interiors, ragged shades, dirty torn books and disorder are the rule. Not even the meagre equipment necessary for a traditional school programme is provided. Every evidence points toward an abundance of training in the use of obscene and vulgar language, and little in the field of training for citizenship, ideals and morals."

* * *

The New York *World* publishes Daniel T. O'Connell's explanation of the attacks made during the war on American sailors in Cork, Ireland:

"President Eamon De Valera has stated plainly that the attacks at Cork on American sailors were, in part, the result of a determination of the Irish manhood to protect Irish women. President De Valera went further and said that, with the same situation confronting them today, the men of Cork would inflict the same punishment as before.

"Ireland through the world has ever been noted for the virtue of its women. Even her most bitter enemies have not denied her the right of maintaining a standard of national morality that has compelled the praise of all civilized people."

* * *

We suggest that Mr. O'Connell discuss this with Senator John Sharp Williams.

* * *

Vivian T. Pomeroy writes in the London *Christian Commonwealth* of the surprise which awaited some travellers in a little village in Cornwall, England:

Down into the dip we went and up to the tiny place of Tremanver. Outside a little cottage, with a fuchsia-tree over the door, the bus, with a creak of brakes, pulled up. And out of the cottage came—oh, well-informed one, didn't your eyes bulge out?—an old lady in a quaint beaded cape and a spotless apron, and her hair bunched in a tiny neat knob—an old lady with gleaming white teeth, and her face, her hands, her hair, as black as an African Negro. *For indeed that is what she is.* It is as true as can be that there in the Cornish village, living in a cottage with a fuchsia over the door, is an old African woman who speaks broad Cornish and doesn't know a word of aught else. For she was brought by some strange man to Tremanver when she was a few years old and left there all alone. And the Cornish—so afraid of strangers!—brought her up and were kind to her, and loved her and taught her to bake and cook and make pastries and saffron cake. And now she's as Cornish as Cornish can be, except her black shining skin and her wooly hair. The Cornish sky is all she remembers, and the Cornish sea and country. She said

to the bus driver, "Will 'ee call to Buzza for my boots, please, and bring six pennoth o' saffron from Hockins?" "Iss, I will, Miss Tresiddick," said the driver, and he nodded good day and drove on; and only the well-informed one and I were surprised at all.

"Is she African?" gasped the lady. "Only outside, ma'am," said the driver. "Pure Cornish inside." "It looks as if the Cornish forget sometimes and wipe away old scores," said Happy, mischievously. "Us be all children o' one Father," piped the very old man from Devon in the corner seat.

SMILES

WE glean these two stories from *Harper's*:

At a trial for assault and battery, a Southern Negro testified that the man who was knocked down lay on the ground five minutes. The opposing lawyer tried to discredit the witness, and, pulling out his watch, asked the Negro to tell him when five minutes had elapsed. The witness told him correctly. The astonished lawyer later asked for an explanation. "Why, boss," was the reply, "I jest figured it out." "But how?" "Why, by de clock on de wall behind you, sah."

* * *

Mrs. Killifer desired that the picture be hung at the right of the door; Mr. Killifer wanted it hung at the left. For once the husband proved to be the more insistent of the two, and Henry, the colored man, was summoned to hang the picture according to Mr. Killifer's order.

Henry drove in a nail on the left. This done, he also drove one in the wall on the right.

"Why are you driving that second nail?" asked Mr. Killifer.

"Why, boss, dat's to save me de trouble of bringin' de ladder to-morrow, when you come round to de missus' way of thinkin'," said Henry.

* * *

"O, porter, porter! Is that the Missouri River," asked the living Question Mark, as the train approached St. Louis.

"It's a portion of it, madam," answered the tired porter.

* * *

The Portland *Advocate* tells of a Board of colored Deacons who had resolved to get rid of their barn-storming pastor.

The pastor protested vigorously:

"Doan I argyfy?" he asked.

"Yes, parson, you argyfy," was the answer.

"Well, den, doan I 'sputify?"

"Yes, parson, you sho do 'sputify. You argyfyies and you 'sputifyies but you doan show wherein."

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON .

MUSIC AND ART

F. WIGHT NEUMANN announces his thirty-third season as impresario, in Chicago. Among many celebrated persons to appear we note Hazel Harrison, the colored pianist.

☐ A Jubilee concert has been given in Pittsburg, Pa., under the Music Department of the War Camp Community Service, at which 1,000 Negroes rendered spirituals. Mayor E. V. Babcock spoke and especially complimented Miss Virginia Williams, who led the chorus.

☐ The Elgar Orchestra and the Umbrian Glee Club have appeared at Orchestra Hall, Chicago. Karleton Hackett says in the *Post*: "The Negroes of Chicago showed last night at Orchestra Hall that they have two lively organizations, with possibilities in them."

☐ Mildred Bryant-Jones who has been appointed Director of Music in the Evening School of Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago, Ill., is the first colored person to have charge of this work; Mr. J. Wesley Jones will assist in the choral work.

☐ William H. Vodery, a colored man, has received the first scholarship granted to an American musician-composer by the French High School of Musical Studies, in Paris. Last August, while stationed at Chaumont, with his 807th Infantry Band, he was among 120 competing musicians, forty of whom passed the examination. In the final test Mr. Vodery led, with an average of 98 per cent. His composition was a descriptive tone-poem, "Two Months in the Old Mill."

☐ During the twelfth century, in the village of Myans, Province of Savoie, France, a landslide covered the village and killed 8,000 persons; the statue of the Black Madonna, in the church of Notre Dame, however, remained uninjured, and ever since it has been called the Miraculous Virgin. It is made of a substance which is ebony-black. The crown of the infant Saviour is studded with jewels worth many fortunes. The robes are made of gold

braid, and are also studded with jewels. Thus, a highly civilized and cultured people of the past thought the Saviour of mankind was related to the dark-skinned nations of the earth by ties of blood. Thousands of persons worship yearly at this shrine.

☐ The Victor Company has released Clarence Cameron White's "Nobody Knows de Trouble I'se Seen," played by Fritz Kreisler, the celebrated violinist.

☐ Under the auspices of the Community and Civic Centre of Public Schools, Washington, D. C., a recital has been given by Alexander Bradrocki, a pupil of Paderewski; he was assisted by a colored soprano, Miss Amy Dorsey.

☐ Will Marion Cook and his Southern Syncopated Orchestra of thirty Negroes, under the management of George W. Lattimore, has been meeting with decided success in England. One of the music reviewers in *Musical America* writes: "They are now drawing large audiences daily. It may, however, be of interest to mention that they have an enthusiastic admirer in Ernest Ansermet, the conductor of the Geneva Symphony concerts and of the Russian Ballet, whose only regret has been that his great friend Stravinsky was not there to share his delight. Apart from their rhythmic precision and their impulsive climaxes, he is much impressed with the novelty of some of their instrumental effects, which he maintains are in the true spirit of modern music."

☐ Queen Elizabeth of Belgium when visiting in St. Louis, Mo., asked to hear Negro plantation melodies. A group of trained Negroes was secured to sing at the Queen's private luncheon, in Hotel Statler.

☐ "The Problem", a military drama, has been presented by E. Grant Gilmore and colored actors, at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia.

☐ Negroes in Baltimore, Md., have written the book, lyrics, and music of "That's the Time," which has been produced by fifty colored actors, at Albaugh's Theatre.

THE WAR

WILL CLINCY, a colored soldier of Birmingham, Ala., who had been awarded the *Croix de Guerre* has recently received, also, the Distinguished Service Cross. He was a member of Company F, 366th Infantry. His awards are for gallantry in action during the fighting in the Toul sector, on September 1, 1918. He was operating a machine-gun, and although he had been wounded in his eye and side, he continued to use his gun effectively and materially aided in routing the Germans during the day's offensive.

☐ At Detroit, the Tom Phillips Post, Number 184, of the American Legion, composed of colored soldiers, has been granted a charter. It has a membership of 175, with Henry B. Taliferro, Commander. The first state convention was held in October, at Grand Rapids, Mich., to which Bertram H. Conway was a delegate.

☐ Five thousand Negroes in Detroit, Mich., assembled recently in honor of their soldiers and sailors. Colonel Charles Young was the speaker, and urged the soldiers to join the American Legion and take advantage of every opportunity to organize.

☐ A colored post of the American Legion, with 167 charter members, has been established at Jackson, Tenn.

☐ This is the casualty record of a colored soldier, Sergeant Jack Mason: When the doctors had finished picking pieces of shrapnel and bullets out of his body, they made a count of 340 wounds. Three silver plates were placed in the crown of his head, as many in his left shoulder, three in his shins, and a tenth plate in his right shoulder. He was among the fighters at Belleau Wood, and formerly had seen service in the Philippines, with the 24th Infantry. He was decorated by all of the Allied nations.

☐ Colored soldiers in Kansas City, Mo., have organized the Wayne Minor Post, in honor of their first comrade to make the supreme sacrifice in France. Homer Roberts is commander.

☐ Lieutenant Robert L. Campbell, a colored officer of the A. E. F., with the 368th Infantry, has been decorated at the A. & T. College, Greensboro, N. C., by Colonel Floyd, with the *Croix de Guerre*. His citation reads, in part: "Officer of admirable courage. Seeing a wounded liaison agent fall

in the middle of a field swept by violent fire, he went to his assistance in plain view of the enemy and brought him to shelter."

☐ On Armistice Day, a monument commemorating the Negro's part in the World War was unveiled in Pittsburg, Pa., under the direction of the War Camp Community Service. A parade of Negroes preceded the unveiling. The monument is a temporary shaft, and will be placed in Schenley Park, near the Carnegie Library.

☐ Six colored delegates attended the Missouri State meeting of the American Legion; three of these were elected delegates to the convention in Minneapolis, in the persons of Messrs. Fearance of St. Louis, Perry of St. Joseph, and Roberts of Kansas City.

☐ The Bureau of War Risk Insurance announces a special ruling by which ex-service men may renew lapsed policies before December 31, 1919.

☐ In New York, on Armistice Day, 6,000 persons celebrated at the Thirteenth Regiment Armory, in Brooklyn, in honor of colored soldiers and sailors. The speakers included Borough President Riegelmann, Mary Church-Terrell, and Ex-Congressman John J. Delaney.

☐ The *Croix de Guerre* has been awarded to Nicholas Rodgers, a Negro, at Baltimore, Md., for his bravery and heroism during the Champagne drive. Mr. Rodgers was a messenger.

GHETTO

ST. JOSEPH'S SEMINARY, in Baltimore, Md., has refused admittance to William E. Floyd, a Negro. This school was the only one operated by Roman Catholics which made even a pretense of fair play toward the colored communicants of the Catholic church.

☐ Representative Madden, of Illinois, has discussed before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce a bill to prohibit "Jim-Crow" cars and discrimination on steamships, etc., through Federal legislation. A delegation of colored men were present. Sanders and Rayburn, Representatives of Louisiana and Texas, respectively, were prominent among southern opposers. The House finally defeated the proposal, only twelve voting for it.

CRIME

AMONG prominent endorsers of the Curtis resolution for a Congressional investigation of lynching are the Governors of Georgia, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, and Indiana; Senators McCormick of Illinois and Capper of Kansas; Jacob H. Schiff; Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and J. E. Manges; Bishops J. S. Flipper of Atlanta, James H. Darlington of Harrisburg, William A. Quayle of St. Louis, Philip Rhinelander of Pennsylvania, Thomas Nicholson of Chicago, and William A. Leonard of Ohio; J. R. Bingham, acting vice-chairman of the Mississippi Welfare League; Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard; Charles F. Thwing, president of Western Reserve University; and Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

☐ Four white persons have been placed under arrest and charged with murder in connection with the lynching of Eli Cooper, at Eastman, Ga. They are C. G. Rogers, Coroner of Dodge County; C. C. Adwell, John Quillian, and Will Watson, of Laurens County.

☐ A. S. Walker, keeper of the County Home of Gates County, N. C., with a hand-saw and butcher knife cut off the legs of Nelson Doughty, a colored inmate; the commissioners paid Walker five dollars for the job. In December, 1917, the Negro's feet froze, due to lack of clothing and fuel provided at the institution. He was permitted to crawl about with his dead feet until they began to rot and fall off from the bone.

☐ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Clarksdale, Miss., September 10, L. B. Reed, ex-soldier; intimacy with a white woman.

Buena Vista, Ga., October 17, two unknown Negroes; reason unknown.

Macon, Ga., November 3, Paul Jones; attacking white woman.

Magnolia, Ark., November 11, Jordan Jameson, burned in public square; murder of Sheriff Greer.

INDUSTRY

THE Atlantic Development Corporation, a colored enterprise capitalized at \$50,000, has commenced business in the Rankin Building, Norfolk, Va., as general

builders and contractors, buyers and sellers of real estate, and collectors of rentals. Mr. E. H. Vaughan is president.

☐ In Norfolk, Va., the Standard Realty Company has been organized by colored people, with Mr. J. T. P. Cross, president. It has been incorporated under the laws of the State of Virginia, with an authorized capital of \$50,000.

☐ The Roach House Cleaning Company, a colored business in New York City, has purchased a seven-story elevator apartment house for Negroes; it is valued at \$250,000.

☐ Mr. R. C. Fisher of St. Louis, Mo., has been made eligible for appointment as printer in the United States Weather Bureau, through a Civil Service examination in which he was the only colored applicant among one hundred. His average was the highest. Mr. Fisher is a graduate of the Mergenthaler Linotype College, of Chicago, and has been associated with the *St. Louis Argus*.

☐ Frank R. Willis, a colored man of Louisville, Ky., won first prizes offered by the Commissioners of Agriculture for "Colossus," a dark cornish cock, and other poultry. Two other colored men, A. D. Bonner and C. J. Green, won prizes.

☐ Messrs. E. B. Taylor and C. Henry Jenkins, Negroes in Baltimore, Md., have formed a partnership for a general banking business. During fifteen years as a caterer, Mr. Taylor has built a business of nearly \$100,000 annually. Mr. Jenkins, during ten years' experience with the president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, has become a specialist in investments.

☐ The Waycross, Ga., Casket Company has been taken over by Negroes. It represents a transaction of \$10,000, which has been capitalized at \$25,000. Fifteen thousand dollars worth of the stock is to be placed on the market, at \$25 per share. The president is Mr. J. C. McGraw and the vice-president and general manager, Rev. J. W. Johnson.

☐ The *Savannah Tribune*, a colored weekly, is equipping its business with \$19,000 worth of new machinery, which includes a perfecting newspaper press, another linotype, a large pony cylinder press, and a job folder; each will be run by individual motors. The size of the paper is also to be increased.

¶ The Ford Broom Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$50,000, has been established in Baltimore, Md., with William Langley, president. This colored enterprise will take over the plant of William Rord, on Druid Hill Avenue, near Preston Street, and manufacture 25 dozen brooms per day.

¶ Dr. Robert D. Russell has purchased at \$12,000 property for a colored drug store,—The Model Drug Company, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

¶ Mr. H. P. Ewing, a colored farmer, has acquired control of 35,000 acres of land in northern Arkansas. He is seeking responsible Negroes to settle on the land, with the understanding that they will buy it as they develop it.

¶ Messrs. W. L. Hutcherson, formerly First Lieutenant, 366th Infantry, and P. A. Gordon, Corporal, 803rd Pioneer Infantry, have opened a Cash Grocery business in Danville, Ill. They have a stock of \$1,500.

¶ The Pioneer Mercantile Company, Inc., a colored business in Atlanta, Ga., capitalized at \$30,000, is operating three haberdashery stores and will soon increase to four. Mr. R. T. Cater is president.

¶ The Universal Insurance Agents' Association has been organized in Chicago, Ill., by colored people, with George A. Wilson, president. The main objects of the organization are to eliminate insurance companies which do not give employment to colored agents and to see that the same kinds of policies are written for Negroes as for whites.

¶ The number of colored men involved in shipbuilding on the Atlantic Coast during the war was 24,647 and in the period since the war, 14,075; of the 24,647 Negroes nearly 4,962 (or 20 per cent., or five out of every hundred) were in skilled occupations. Negro workers in all skilled occupations decreased only 20.7 per cent., or five out of the hundred workmen, while the unskilled Negro workers decreased about 48 per cent. since the war, or nearly one-half their previous number. In the thirty other industrial establishments there were 32,394 white workmen and 4,092 colored workmen.

¶ Heman E. Perry, president of the Standard Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, Ga., after a ten days' conference with capitalists in New York City announces a

\$500,000 Trust Company to be launched by Negroes.

¶ Nine colored tenant-farmers in Sunflower County, Miss., have borrowed \$51,500 from the Federal Loan Bank, for the purchase of the 1200 acre cotton plantation on which they had worked; in Humphrey County, twenty-five colored farmers have purchased 3,000 acres of cotton land, for \$225,000.

¶ The Standard Life Insurance Company, in Atlanta, Ga., secured in Paid For Business during October, \$1,023,750.

¶ Negroes in Petersburg, Va., have opened The Lorraine and The Rialto Theatres, at a cost of \$15,000 and \$30,000, respectively. The Lorraine is owned by William Wilkins, while The Rialto is owned by a stock company, of which James M. Wilkerson is president.

EDUCATION

THE Southern Publicity Committee reports on county schools for Negroes of Georgia that since 1914 the number of teachers holding first-grade certificates has almost doubled; yet only 12.5 per cent. are thus equipped; 43 per cent. hold third-grade certificates, a decrease from 71 per cent., five years ago; 171 teachers have no certificates.

¶ Frank S. Rankin, a colored youth of Savannah, Ga., through examination has won a scholarship for 1919-20 at the University of Wisconsin, where he will pursue the study of medicine and graduate work in physiological chemistry. He is only twenty years of age, and a graduate of the Normal Department of the Georgia State College and of Howard University, where he made his Bachelor's degree in three years.

¶ The Freedmen's Board of the M. E. Church has sought to move Walden University, but the local Board of Trustees has decided to continue the University at Nashville, under the sole management of the Tennessee Conference of the M. E. Church, alumnae, and friends. One hundred and ten students have enrolled. Mr. J. H. Lovell is president.

¶ Andrew Carnegie in his will set aside \$300,000 for Hampton Institute. This amount capitalizes the annual gift which he usually made to Hampton.

¶ Professor G. David Houston has resigned his position in the Language De-

partment at Howard University to become director of business trades in the colored high schools of Washington. Mr. Houston has been a teacher at Tuskegee Institute and the Baltimore Colored High School, and is a Bachelor and Master of Arts of Harvard.

¶ Miss S. Elizabeth Frazier, a colored teacher in New York City, was a winner in the school teachers' popularity contest conducted by the *Evening Telegram*. She has sailed for France, on the *Saxonia*, with the party of teachers who will visit the battlefields and places of interest.

¶ Mrs. Eslanda V. Johnson has been appointed Supervisor of Music in the Baltimore High School. The enrollment at the school this year is 675, the largest in its history, with a large regular attendance. Recently the Principal, Mr. M. A. Hawkins, celebrated his tenth anniversary.

¶ The Adjutant-General of the Army, at Washington, has issued an order to discontinue the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at Wilberforce University, because the enrollment was not up to the desired quota,—100.

¶ Wiley University, Marshall, Tex., has opened with an enrollment of 300. The School and Administration Building, which will be opened in November, is the best in that section.

¶ Rev. David Abner has been elected president of the National Baptist Theological and Training Seminary, at Nashville, Tenn.

¶ Colored children have been enrolled in the public schools of Savannah, Ga., to the number of 3,713, an increase over last year. Twenty double-session classes need be held.

¶ The Board of Education at Washington, D. C., has made a report, in the form of a resolution, which states in the case of the colored Superintendent of Schools, R. C. Bruce, that he is efficient and qualified for the position. There was only one dissenting vote, and the resolution was adopted. The Parents League, however, is still protesting.

¶ Pierre S. Dupont of Wilmington, Del., has made a gift of \$500,000 for rebuilding schools for Negroes.

THE CHURCH

QUALE M. E. Church at Oklahoma City, Okla., has laid the cornerstone for a new edifice, to cost \$15,000. The pastor is the Rev. D. G. Franklin.

¶ Dr. H. H. Proctor, pastor of First Congregational Church, Atlanta, Ga., for over twenty-five years, will take the pastorate of Nazarene Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., in January.

¶ Dr. E. W. Moore is the first Negro to be elected General Superintendent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, for work among Negroes in the North; his headquarters are in Pittsburg, Pa. This is one of the most distinguished and best paid positions in the denomination.

¶ The General Convention of the Episcopal Church, which numbers over a thousand members and is the law-making body of this church, has met in Detroit, Mich. Among the Negroes present were the Right Reverends Edmund Thomas Demby and Henry B. Delaney, Bishops Suffragan of Arkansas and North Carolina, respectively. A colored bishop of Haiti and a white bishop of Liberia were elected.

¶ The Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention in the past year did \$70,215 worth of business, and including the B. Y. P. U., a total of \$90,215.

FRATERNITIES

PROGRESS LODGE 104, Knights of Pythias, at Pawhuska, Okla., has laid the cornerstone of its new \$5,000 Castle Hall. Five hundred visiting knights participated in the ceremonies. The Grand Chancellor is Charles B. Wickham.

¶ A building has been dedicated at Cumberland, Md., to Queen City Lodge Number 1716, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

¶ A new Masonic order of women has been organized in Des Moines, Iowa, to be known as King Solomon Guild Number 20, auxiliary to King Solomon Commandery Number 6, Knights Templar.

¶ The Order of American Woodmen has held a three days' session in Americus, Ga. During nine years this organization has paid off a \$300,000 indebtedness and has \$500,000 to its credit. The Supreme Commander is Mr. C. M. White of Denver, Colo., where the organization has headquarters.

POLITICS

THE colored woman was represented at the forty-eighth annual convention of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association by Mrs. S. Joe Brown, chairman of the Des Moines League of Colored Women Voters. She spoke on "The Political Education of the Colored Woman."

¶ New York City for the first time in its history has elected Negroes as members of the Board of Aldermen. Dr. Charles H. Roberts, Republican Alderman-elect of the 27th District, is a dentist who regardless of his color became President of the Manhattan Dental and Pharmaceutical Association. At the outbreak of the war he was in London as a delegate to the International Dental Convention. In 1915 he volunteered his services to the Medical Department of the French Army, and served as a dentist during the early part of the conflict. After his return to the United States, Dr. Roberts gave free dental treatment to men in the service throughout the war. He has lived in New York for twenty-five years. George W. Harris is Republican Alderman-elect of the 26th District. He was born in 1884, in Topeka, Kan. He is a graduate of Harvard College, 1907. Seven years ago in New York City he established the *New York News*, of which he is editor and publisher. He is president of the Harlem Law and Order League. (See page 73.)



John C. Hawkins

¶ John Clifford Hawkins, a colored man in New York City, was re-elected to the Assembly. His plurality was 3,148; his total vote was 7,067. He defeated J. Frank Wheaton, the colored Democratic candidate.

¶ In Chicago two colored Republicans from the Third District, Cook County, were elected delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Rev. Archibald Carey, Presiding Elder of the Chicago District and Assistant Corporation Counsel, won with 3,890 votes. Edward H. Morris, a foremost lawyer, won with 3,987 votes.

¶ Thomas W. Fleming in Cleveland, Ohio, was re-elected Councilman in Eleventh Ward, by a two to one vote.

¶ Charles B. Hall on becoming political leader of the Seventh Ward, Philadelphia, Pa., through the death of Charles Segar, nominated to fill the unexpired term in the Select Council, Nathan Nutter, a Negro.

¶ Mr. J. T. O'Neal, a colored man at Washington Court House, Ohio, has been elected Justice of the Peace.

MEETINGS

THE nineteenth annual session of the Woman's Committee, auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, has been held at Bethany Baptist Church, Newark, N. J. The speakers were Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Reverends P. James Bryant, Mordecai Johnson and E. W. Johnson, Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Mrs. Alice Dunbar-Nelson, John R. Shillady, and President John Hope. Plans for the year include a self-denial day, for the finances of the National Training School; A Season of Prayer, November 20-30, with a special Prayer Hour November 30, at noon, against "lynching, injustice and race hatred"; on December 5, at Washington, D. C., a special conference to consider forming a national organization of domestic servants. The budget for the year calls for \$125,000. Mrs. S. W. Layton is president.

¶ Church Workers Among Colored People have convened in their thirty-fifth annual session at St. Andrews Church in Cleveland, Ohio. Among the speakers were Right Rev. Delaney, Bishop Leonard, Reverends Samuel W. Grice, Charles Howell, E. H. Oxley, Emmett E. Miller, John Albert Williams, and George F. Bragg.

¶ A protest meeting against lynching has been held by the Brooklyn Civic Forum, at which 1,000 persons were present. Rabbi Alexander Lyons, a native of the South and John R. Shillady were the speakers.

¶ The National Urban League has held in Detroit, Mich., a four days' conference on the labor situation. Seventy-seven delegates, representing thirty-one local organizations, attended.

¶ The eighth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement of the Y. M. C. A. will convene at Des Moines, Iowa, December 31-January 4. Eight thousand students, representing forty nations, will attend. Three hundred colored students have been invited.

PERSONAL

DR. WILLIAM M. MOSS, for the past nine years pastor of Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., is dead, at the age of fifty-four years. He was born in Spotsylvania County, Va., and received his education at Union Theological Seminary. A wife and four children survive him.

¶ Five hundred colored women in New York tendered a welcome-home reception, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, in honor of Mrs. A. W. Hunton, a colored Y. M. C. A. worker who spent over a year doing welfare work among the colored soldiers in France.

¶ Dr. Horace Bumstead, former president of Atlanta University and a sincere friend of Negroes, is dead at Brookline, Mass.

¶ Mrs. Virginia Trotter, widow of the late James Monroe Trotter and mother of William Monroe Trotter, Editor of the *Boston Guardian*, is dead, at the age of seventy-seven.

¶ John Stephens Durham, a Philadelphia Negro who won fame as a newspaper man, lawyer and diplomat, is dead, in London.

¶ At their session in Newark, N. J., the women of the National Baptist Convention presented a gold watch set with diamonds, which cost \$500, and a purse of \$100 to Nannie H. Burroughs, as a recognition of her services for her race.

¶ Dr. E. M. Brawley is dead, at Durham, N. C. He was a distinguished Baptist scholar.

¶ Miss Alice B. Davis resigned as teacher at the McCoach Playground, Philadelphia, Pa., and married Mr. Fred Crawford, on October 14.

¶ James W. French, a pioneer citizen of Parsons, Kan., is dead. At the time of his death, he was financial secretary of the Plasterers' Union, Local 247; he was also a member of the G. A. R. Post 64. He was born in 1841.

¶ Miss Catherine T. Johnson, a white woman of Shelburne Falls, Mass., died recently at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., where she had been a teacher for seventeen years. Miss Johnson had formerly taught in Massachusetts, had been a translator from German into English, and had lived for some time in Europe. She had relatives in both England and France, one nephew being a member of the British Parliament. In addition to superior scholarship and wide experience, Miss Johnson brought to her work in Atlanta University a firm belief in the intellectual possibilities of Negro youth.

¶ Twenty-three years ago a colored woman, small in stature and slender of form, came to Wilberforce and opened a boarding-house. During these years "Auntie Reid"



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SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE American State Bank of Detroit, Mich., has appointed a former colored soldier, Captain Francis M. Dent, as one of its representatives, to interest the Negroes in saving.

¶ The Y. M. C. A. has appointed two Negroes as members of its International Committee,—Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. R. E. Jones, Editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*.

¶ Joshua H. Jones, Jr., son of Bishop Jones, has published "The Heart of the World and Other Poems." Mr. Jones, who is a colored man, has served on the editorial staff of *The Post*, coming to this paper from the *Boston Advertiser*, where he rose from reporter to city editor's place; he served his apprenticeship on the *Providence News*, *Worcester Evening Post*, and the *Lawrence Sun-American*. He is a graduate of Brown University, 1903.

¶ The City Club of Cleveland has among its 2,300 members, nine Negroes. It is a seven-year-old organization, and its objects are the investigation, discussion, and improvement of civic conditions and affairs in Cleveland.

¶ At Oklahoma City, Okla., colored physicians have established the Great Western Hospital, at 225 East Second Street. It is a six-room modern building, which will consist of an operating-room, sterilizing-room, and four wards, with accommodations for ten patients.

¶ Secretary of War Baker summarily dismissed a white clerk recently when the mat-

ter of his insulting a colored woman clerk in the Adjutant General's Office,—Mrs. Ida Dorsey, was brought to his attention.

¶ The State Committee of Y. M. C. A. in Kentucky has taken on a budget of \$6,000 for the promotion of its work among colored men. Two colored state secretaries are employed. State secretaries are employed, also, in Virginia, Texas, Florida, Kentucky, and Louisiana.

¶ At Oklahoma City, Okla., an Inter-racial Commission has been appointed to bring about improvement in race relations in that state. Governor Robertson, in an opening address to the conference, said: "All of us know that the Negro is mistreated, and it is up to us to work out some plan that will mean a larger measure of Justice."

¶ Associate Justice Gould, presiding in Criminal Division of the District Supreme Court, Washington, D. C., has ordered released Thomas W. Hunter, a colored man held for robbery, and denounced the Police Department for holding an innocent man in jail for six months by "mistake," without presenting his case to the Grand Jury.

¶ The Chicago Real Estate Board and the Chicago Association of Commerce has named a committee to plan a \$1,500,000 organization to rehabilitate the slums and Negro districts. Ivan O. Ackley is chairman.

¶ During the flood at Galveston, Texas, white persons *only* were permitted to board the first rescue train; this train, when it reached a point half a mile distant, was swept by the storm into Galveston Bay and hundreds perished.

(Concluded from page 67)
tives of the South. They have learned their lesson, and know better now. They are now prepared to fight for recognition of the rights of the colored soldier to the end, and in the only possible way,—by organization, by agitation, and by a show down of votes. Every soldier who is interested in this fight, every group that has a grievance on this score, every post that wishes to aid in the struggle for justice, should communicate immediately with J. E. Spingarn, President of the Amenia Post of the American Legion, Amenia, N. Y. The fight to make the American Legion stand for 100% Americanism instead of 90% Americanism must be started right now.

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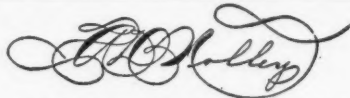
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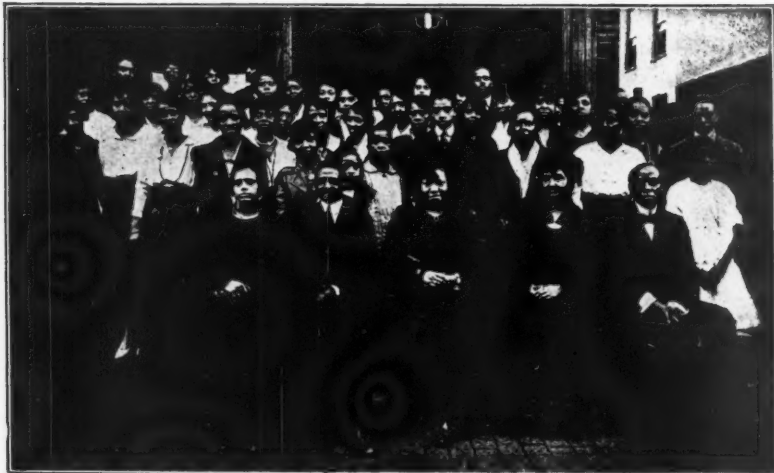
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LL.D., Special Assistant to
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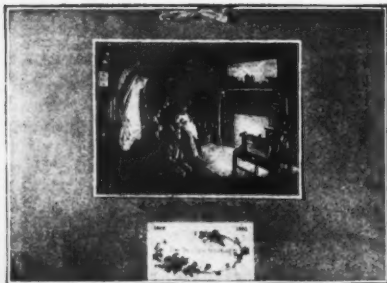
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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of the CRISIS, published monthly at 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1919.

State of New York; County of New York, ss.: Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Burghardt DuBois, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations:

Publisher, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; Editor, W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Augustus Granville Dill, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Owners, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a corporation with no stock; membership, 79,645. Moorfield Storey, President; John H. Shillady, Secretary; Major Joel E. Spingarn, Acting Treasurer; Mary White Owington, Chairman of Board of Directors.

Known bondholders, mortgages and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1919.

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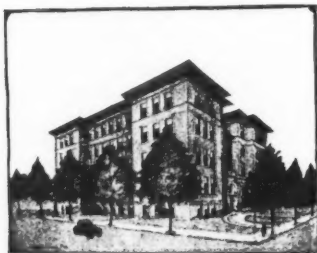
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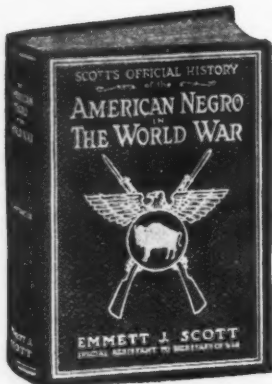
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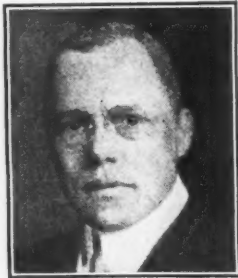
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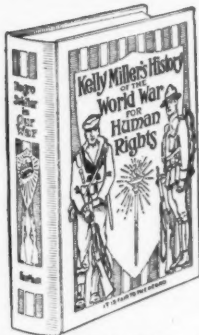
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